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THE MARIAN REACTION

IN ITS RELATION TO

THE ENGLISH CLERGY.

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XVIII.

J. S. Hicks.

The Marian Reaction

In its Relation to

The English Clergy.

A STUDY OF THE EPISCOPAL REGISTERS.

BY

WALTER HOWARD FRERE,

OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE RESURRECTION.

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PREFACE.

To the Committee of the Church Historical Society.

THE following pages contain the report which I am now enabled to submit to you in connexion with the inquiry into the Episcopal Registers of the reigns of Edward VI and Mary, which you desired me to undertake a year ago. Subsequent events have clearly shown the need of such an inquiry, and I can only wish that it had been possible to do the work more thoroughly.

The journey to various Registries was in most cases simply a voyage of discovery more or less fruitful in results; and in only a very few cases has it been possible to go over the ground a second time to verify or extend the

inquiries in the light of subsequent discoveries. Consequently it is too much to hope that the inquiry has been at all exhaustive or really final. It is quite possible that more documents may be forthcoming: for, though every facility has been afforded by the kindness of the Registrars and officials, there are here and there serious gaps in the evidence which one would gladly believe may some day after further rummaging be filled.

Again, it is quite possible that even in documents which I have seen, there may be points of material value which have been passed over in the course of a search which had always rather a pioneer character, and was sometimes more hurried than I could have wished.

Still, during the course of the inquiry certain points emerged and claimed attention, so neglecting others that seemed less likely to be fruitful, I have tried to work out these.

Points of detail have been relegated to notes, and the principal documents to an Appendix.

Here, as elsewhere, in quoting from original documents the old method of dividing the year at March 25 has been kept up; in many cases the double reckoning is given [1].

I am bound, in conclusion, to express both my gratitude and yours to the officials of the various Registries for their interest, patience, and willing help, as well as to others, both in and out of the Committee, who have given valuable advice, criticism, and information, especially to the Rt. Rev. Chairman, the Rev. T. A. Lacey, the Rev. Canon Church, the Rev. E. Denny, Dr. Venn, W. F. Irvine, Esq., and F. J. Baigent, Esq., while I must express more personal thanks to others who have befriended me on my travels.

W. H. FRERE.

October, 1896.

[1] In the index of Marian clergy March is quoted with the double reckoning when the debateable part of the month is meant; with the single year when the last week of the month is meant.

LIST OF BOOKS CONSTANTLY QUOTED.

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RYMER, *Foedera*, vol. xv. (London, 1713.)

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STUBBS, *Episcopal Succession* (*Registrum Sacrum*). (Oxford, 1858.)

WILKINS, *Concilia.* (London, 1737.)

THE MARIAN REACTION IN ITS RELATION TO THE ENGLISH CLERGY.

CHAPTER I.

The Episcopate [1].

In tracing the position of the clergy during the troublous period which lies between the reforms of Edward VI and the settlement of the Church under Elizabeth, it is natural first to turn to the bishops and see briefly how far the ebb and flow of change brought confusion into the episcopal succession.

There were at this period normally twenty-two sees in the province of Canterbury and five in the province of York [2].

[1] See Appendix I for a table of the Episcopate.

[2] The diocese of Sodor and Man was united to the province of York in 1542. The history of the see is a little vague at this period, and need not come under

In eight of this number the succession was undisturbed. The simplest case of these is that of Llandaff, where Anthony Kitchin was bishop during the whole period from 1545 to 1563. Next to this in simplicity are the two similar cases of Sarum and Oxford[1], where there was no change till 1557; the sees were found vacant at the accession of Elizabeth, as both Bishop Salcot, *alias* Capon, of Salisbury, and Bishop King of Oxford, had died in the previous year.

The case of Durham was somewhat analogous: the veteran Bishop Tonstall, who had held the see since 1530, survived an abortive deprivation under Edward, and lived on into Elizabeth's reign; he was then again deprived, only to die three weeks later and before any successor had been appointed[2].

discussion for our purpose. See Stubbs, *Episcopal Succession*, pp. 151, 183.

[1] See below under St. Asaph, and Brady, i. 33.

[2] He was imprisoned Dec. 20, 1551 (Harmer, p. 109; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 73), and deprived on Oct. 11, 1552 (*King's Journal* in Harmer, 120; cp. *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 75), and Ridley was to be translated to the see. It is doubtful how far the translation took effect. The Durham Register is silent on the point: Harmer (p. 120) asserts wrongly that Bonner was restored to London on the ground that the see was vacant through Ridley's

At Canterbury there was no formal disturbance of the succession: the scrupulous Cardinal Pole refused to be consecrated till March 22, 1556, the day after Archbishop Cranmer's execution, though as a matter of fact the see had been regarded as void since December, 1553, by Cranmer's attainder: he himself admitted this, and the diocese and province had been administered ever since by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, on the ground that the see was vacant[1]. Pole died on Nov. 19, 1558, and the archbishopric was therefore vacant at Elizabeth's accession.

The see of Bangor was vacant at both the two most critical epochs, viz. in 1554 by the death of Bishop Bulkeley, and in 1558 by the death of Bishop Glynne; it thus escaped disturbance. Rochester enjoyed the same fortune, since the see was vacant in 1553 by

translation, and that Ridley was deprived of the bishopric of Durham (see Strype, *Cranmer*, 1055). Mary's commission to examine the validity of the sentence against Tonstall is in Rymer, xv. 334. But neither that nor the Register of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury *Sede Vacante*, nor Bonner's own register, says anything of any translation, though the Canterbury Register may allude to it: see Appendix II.

[1] Dixon, iv. 69, and note from Harmer, p. 127.

the translation of Bishop Scory to Chichester, and again in 1558 by the death of Bishop Griffin.

Norwich was spared disturbance in 1554 through the action of Bishop Thirlby, who had conformed under Edward VI and was left in possession by Mary: in 1558 the see was vacant through the death of his successor, Bishop Hopton.

In the remaining eighteen dioceses[1] more or less serious complications arose through deprivation and intrusion. The precedent was set in the reign of Edward VI, when five bishops were deprived and five dioceses were consequently plunged into a confusion from which they were slow to recover.

The first to suffer was London. Bishop Bonner had been in trouble from the beginning of the reign, and in 1549, after a month of harassing, he was deprived by Royal Commissioners on Oct. 1[2]. He appealed from the sentence, but the decision was confirmed by the Privy Council sitting in the Star Chamber,

[1] That is, excluding Sodor and Man.

[2] Full details are given in Foxe, v. 729–end, with documents from Bonner's *Register*: the date of deprivation is given there in a note.

and the fact was notified to the King on Feb. 8. On the first of April following the re-united see of London and Westminster was granted to Ridley[1], and for two years and a half he was intruded into the see. One of the first acts of Queen Mary's reign was to release the imprisoned bishops: Ridley was sent to the Tower as early as July 25; Bonner came out of the Marshalsea prison on Aug. 5, and a month later was formally restored to his see[2]. He remained in possession of it till the accession of Elizabeth, and then on June 29, 1559, he was again deprived, and in the following December Edmund Grindal was consecrated to the see. Bonner soon after his deprivation was excommunicated, and in 1560 sent to the Marshalsea, where he died in 1569[3].

A similar series of changes took place in the Winchester diocese, where Bishop Gardiner was deprived on Feb. 14, 1551, and imprisoned in the Tower[4]. Bishop Ponet was translated from Rochester to fill his place (March 23), but at the beginning of Mary's

[1] Rymer, xv. 222.

[2] Strype, *Memorials*, III. i. 35; Bonner, *Reg.* f. 331.

[3] Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 210–214.

[4] Dixon, iii. 270; Strype, *Mem.* III. i. 462; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, 67–69.

reign he was ejected as being married and an intruder. Bishop Gardiner was restored. At his death, on Nov. 13, 1555, Bishop White was translated to Winchester in 1556[1]: he lived long enough to be deprived by Elizabeth (July 18, 1559), but died before any successor took his place, which was not until Jan. 12, 1560. Bishop Ponet had died shortly after White's accession, Aug. 11, 1556: Bishop Horne was not consecrated to succeed him at Winchester till Feb. 21, 1561. The see was thus spared a second rivalry.

Exeter and Worcester were less fortunate: in the former the aged Bishop Voysey was intimidated into resigning on Aug. 14, 1551: a fortnight later Miles Coverdale succeeded him, and held the see till Bishop Voysey was restored on Sept. 28, 1553[2]. He survived his restoration only a year, and then at his death was succeeded by Bishop Turberville (Sept. 8, 1555), who was in turn deprived on Nov. 16, 1559, to make way, not for Bishop Coverdale, who remained without a see, but

[1] Licence to elect, July 16. Restitution, not till May 30, 1557; but licence to elect his successor at Lincoln, Dec. 7, 1556. See Rymer.

[2] Dixon, iv. 47; Rymer, xv. 340.

for Bishop Alley, consecrated July 14, 1560. Bishop Turberville lived some years in private life, and Bishop Coverdale survived till May 20, 1565, so that for some time there were three living bishops who on one ground or another could claim the see of Exeter.

At Worcester Bishop Heath was deprived on Oct. 9, 1551[1], for refusing to subscribe to the new Ordinal: the see was then joined with Gloucester under Bishop Hooper[2], but he was ejected on March 20, 1554, and even before that date Bishop Heath had been restored[3]. On his translation to York, Bishop Pates took his place[4], only to be deprived on June 30, 1559. In the following December Sandys was consecrated to the see: Bishop Pates survived some time, attended the Council of Trent, and died abroad.

At Chichester Bishop Day was deprived[5]

[1] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 71; Harmer, 116, 117.

[2] Rymer, xv. 298, 320.

[3] Dixon, iv. 47; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 83.

[4] Probably between Feb. 19 and March 5. Rymer, xv. 415.

[5] The cause was his refusal to obey the Privy Council's Letter for the demolition of Altars in the Parish Churches (Harmer, 113). He was first summoned before them in the previous November and imprisoned in the following month. See *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 71.

at the same time as Bishop Heath of Worcester, Oct. 9, 1551, and in the following May Bishop Scory was translated thither from Rochester. On Feb. 26, 1554, Bishop Day was restored, and Bishop Scory deposed for being, like Ponet, a married man and an intruder. Bishop Day died in 1556, and his successor, Bishop Christopherson, also died before the end of 1558[1]: the see was therefore vacant for an appointment by Elizabeth, and formed a refuge, not for its former occupant, Bishop Scory, who went to Hereford, but for Bishop Barlow, who had been deprived under Mary of the see of Bath and Wells.

Thus there were five sees thrown into confusion in Edward's reign: in three of them the trouble was repeated under Mary and under Elizabeth, while in the other two cases it was repeated only in the former reign.

Eight sees had their first experience of confusion under Mary: in three of the cases there were no reprisals under Elizabeth owing to the see being vacant. About these, then, it is only necessary to note—

1. That at Gloucester Bishop Hooper was deprived on March 20, 1554, and Bishop

[1] He was buried Dec. 28, 1558. Strype, *Ann.* I. i. 46.

Brooks who succeeded him died Sept. 7, 1558.

2. That at Bristol Bishop Bush was deprived on March 13, 1554[1], and Bishop Holyman who succeeded him died Dec. 20, 1558[2].

3. That at Hereford Bishop Harley was deprived on March 20, 1554, and Bishop Parfew, his successor, was translated before April 20 following[3], and died on Sept. 22, 1558. Bishop Scory was elected to fill the vacancy.

In the five remaining sees the deprivations in Mary's reign were followed by others under Elizabeth. At Bath and Wells the complication was most serious, for Bishop Barlow, who was deprived by Mary[4], survived to take a notable part in Elizabeth's reign: the see

[1] See the two great deposing commissions in Rymer, xv. 370; Wilkins, iv. 118.

[2] Neither of these vacancies was filled up till 1562: the Marian bishop in each case outlived the Edwardian.

[3] Rymer, xv. 385.

[4] The resignation attributed to him was no more "spontaneous and free" than that of Bishop Voysey under Edward. The *Congé d'élire* of his successor says "Resignation," as also a Commission issued during the vacancy: see Appendix VII; but the *Significavit* with greater candour says "Deprivation": he was married. See Rymer, xv. 369, 376. The choice of the term may have been influenced by legal considerations.

was therefore disputed all through Mary's reign, and later, for Bishop Bourne, Barlow's successor, after his deprivation in 1559, lived on till 1569[1]. In the other four cases the Edwardian bishop died before the close of Mary's reign, and the Marian bishop was therefore in undisputed possession. Thus at Lincoln Bishop Taylor, who was deprived on March 20, 1554, was dead at the time when his successor Bishop White was translated to Winchester: consequently Bishop Watson, White's successor, came into undisputed possession of the see: he was deprived by Elizabeth on June 25, 1559, survived his deprivation no less than four-and-twenty years, and probably died in prison[2].

At St. David's Bishop Ferrar was deprived on March 20, 1554, and died a year later: his successor, Bishop Morgan, lived just long enough to be deprived under Elizabeth, and died the day after a writ of *in commendam* was granted to Thomas Young, bishop-elect of the see (Dec. 23, 1559[3]).

[1] He was deprived between Oct. 1559 (Rymer, xv. 545) and Dec. 4 (Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 217): and died in 1569 (I. i. 213).

[2] Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 210, 214.

[3] Rymer, xv. 553. The Dean and Chapter of Canterbury

In the northern province Archbishop Holgate survived his deprivation barely two years; Archbishop Heath[1] was therefore in undisputed possession of the see when he was deprived under Elizabeth. He lived in private life till 1579, when he died[2]. The see was vacant till Bishop Young was translated from St. David's in 1561[3].

At Chester Bishop Bird, who was deprived on March 20, 1554, outlived his immediate successor, Bishop Cotes, and after repudiating his wife became Vicar of Dunmow, and acted as suffragan to Bishop Bonner in the London diocese[4] till his death in 1558. In 1556, Cuthbert Scott was consecrated to Chester[5]: he was deprived June 21, 1559, and imprisoned: he was still in the Fleet in 1562[6].

were administering the see on April 20. See their Register, f. 23.

[1] Holgate was deprived March 13, 1553–4 (Rymer, xv. 370), but the Dean and Chapter began the *Sede Vacante* Register on March 8th (Harmer, 132). Heath was translated to York after March 26, 1555 (Rymer, xv. 418).

[2] Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 212; Stubbs, *Episcopal Succession*.

[3] Between July 25, 1560, and Feb. 20, 1561. See Rymer, xv. 599, 600.

[4] Strype, *Mem.* III. i. 218. See note, p. 94.

[5] Between April 24 and Sept. 29 (Rymer, xv. 434, 444).

[6] Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 417.

There remain five sees to be considered where there was no confusion till the reign of Elizabeth, viz. Lichfield, Ely, Peterborough, St. Asaph, and Carlisle. Two of the deprived bishops, viz. Bishop Oglethorpe of Carlisle and Bishop Bayne of Lichfield, died within a year and before the appointment of their successors, so the confusion was minimized: but Bishop Thirlby of Ely lived till 1570, Bishop Goldwell of St. Asaph [1] lived twenty-six years abroad, and Bishop Pole of Peterborough also lived some time [2].

A little summary may be of use in clearing up one or two points. Under Edward there were six deprivations, one of which (Bishop Tonstall of Durham) practically did not take effect. Under Mary there were five deprivations necessary to restore the bishops who had been deprived under Edward; and there were nine others, making fourteen in all [3]. Under

[1] He was consecrated probably between May 12, 1555, when he was given the custody, and Jan. 22, 1556, when restitution of temporalities was granted to him. Rymer, xv. 428, 442. He was to be translated to Oxford, November 1558, but the translation was left incomplete: Rymer, xv. 490, 492. He was deprived July 16, 1559. Brady ii. 304.

[2] Strype, *Ann.* I. i. 213–215.

[3] In this reckoning Hooper, as Bishop of Gloucester

Elizabeth there were fifteen deprivations: in five other cases the deprived bishop died before the appointment of his successor, but in ten cases the Elizabethan bishops came into possession of a disputed see: in two of these cases, Exeter and Bath and Wells, the Edwardian bishop was still alive, that is, the position of the deprived Marian bishop was a disputed one; but in the other eight cases the Marian bishop was in possession and without a rival claimant.

Any attempt to estimate or contrast the validity of these various deprivations is beset with difficulties. It is doubtful if any will stand the strictest tests of ecclesiastical law. Under Edward, Bishops Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, and Day were all tried before Royal Commissioners, who, whether the prisoners protested (as Bonner violently did, and Gardiner to a less extent) or whether they acquiesced, must be held to have had little ecclesiastical and no spiritual authority either to sit in judgment or to deprive. The bullying of Bishop Voysey was still less justifiable.

The Marian deprivations had far more

and Worcester, is counted twice, and Barlow is reckoned as "deprived."

appearance of legality; five of them merely aimed at restoration: moreover, it could be urged against all the deprived bishops except Taylor and Ridley that they were married men, and in the case of Bishops Bush, Bird, Ferrar, and Holgate, this was definitely assigned as the cause of their deprivation. Three others had been irregularly appointed [1], viz. Bishops Harley, Taylor, and Hooper, and a clause in the Letters Patent appointing them *quamdiu se bene gesserint* was made the civil reason for declaring void appointments which ecclesiastically were unsound [2]. But, even supposing for the sake of the argument that marriage under such circumstances was a sufficient ground for deprivation, all these acts were done by the wrong authority, that is, by Royal Commissioners and not eccle-

[1] That is, by Letters Patent, not by election: the same is true of all the other bishops of Edward's reign. Dixon, iii. 197.

[2] Rymer, xv. 370; Wilkins, iv. 118, give the two Royal Commissions for depriving March 15 and 16. The first is in English and deals with Harley, Taylor, and Hooper on the ground of their defective title, with the other charges of misbehaviour, heresy, &c. The second is in Latin and deals with Holgate, Ferrar, Bird, and Bush, with a fuller recognition of their episcopal position.

siastical courts [1]. The strongest point in their favour is that the sufferers acquiesced in them; indeed, it is noteworthy that the three deprived bishops who survived into Elizabeth's reign did not claim their sees at all: Bishop Coverdale went to no see, while Bishops Barlow and Scory were appointed to different sees from those of which they had been deprived; in fact Bishop Barlow went to Chichester, where Bishop Scory had formerly been.

Elizabeth's deprivations were as highhanded as Mary's The charge against most or all of the deprived bishops was that they refused the oath imposed by Act of Parliament when tendered to them by the Royal Commissioners. But on the whole these deprivations passed unquestioned, no less than the Marian ones; and the five deprived bishops who protested to Queen Elizabeth confined their protest to the general position of the English Church, without complaining of *illegality* in the treatment which had been meted out to themselves [2].

[1] Bishop Barlow nominally had resigned, otherwise no doubt he would have been included with the four married bishops above.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, I. i. 217. Bishop Bonner alone was pro-

The true account of the matter seems to be that the Tudor spirit had so far invaded the Church's rights, and obscured the distinctions between civil, ecclesiastical, and spiritual, that both parties were content to proceed by means which were not strictly justifiable.

voked into a protest. When Bishop Horne of Winchester tendered to him in the Marshalsea the oath of supremacy, he refused the oath, and would not recognize the bishop as his diocesan, or as a bishop at all according to English law. To make clear the civil status of the Elizabethan bishops an Act was consequently passed in 1566. See for an explanation of its objects and provisions, Strype, *Annals*, I. ii. 230.

CHAPTER II.

The Registers.

In leaving the case of the bishops to deal with the vicissitudes of the priests and lesser clergy, we are entering on far more difficult ground. Evidence is not always forthcoming, when we need it, in the case of bishops; and in this part of our inquiry we are still more hampered for want of it. The main source to which we have recourse for information about the vicissitudes of the clergy from 1550–1560 is the mass of records accumulated in the various diocesan registries. These are very miscellaneous in character, but the most important of them fall under one of three divisions—(1) Ordinary Acts of the Bishop, (2) Acts of the Vicar-General, (3) Visitations.

The principal acts of the bishop to be recorded are ordinations, institutions, and collations to benefices, the execution of royal or archiepiscopal mandates, assent to leases,

and other transactions concerning benefices in the diocese.

These are, however, only the main classes of acts to be recorded: there are many more that may occur from time to time, so that in fact the Bishop's Register or Act Book is a very miscellaneous collection of documents —a memorandum-book in which the registrar entered whatever he considered important.

The actual registers differ very much from one another in their fullness and their orderliness. In some cases it seems clear that various classes of acts—ordinations, institutions, wills, &c.—were entered on separate loose quires of parchment, and these were only later bound together in one volume; the result is a methodical and more or less complete book in several sections. In other cases there is no such classification; the acts have been entered in any order (or even in none), perhaps chronologically, perhaps not.

With all its faults this is the main class of records. Neither of the other classes approaches it in importance or in extent. The records of the Vicar-General's Court and of episcopal visitations were not meant to be permanent records at all in the same way as

the episcopal registers. They consist generally of common paper books: the entries are not generally very continuous or methodical, and in many dioceses most of the older books have perished. For our purpose some valuable bits of evidence have occasionally been culled from the Vicar-General's books, and there is possibly a little more which might be forthcoming as a slender reward for more diligent search. The visitation records have so far contributed nothing.

We return then to the registers as our main source of information. It is clear from what has already been said that the evidence would not be altogether entirely satisfactory [1],

[1] It has often been maintained that the registers have been tampered with to a considerable extent: it is a charge which it is easy to make and difficult to prove: no doubt they are very defective, but it seems more likely that these defects are the result of carelessness in registering and binding than of deliberate tampering with existing records. It is quite possible that records were destroyed both in 1553 and 1558 or 1559; but any considerable destruction must in that case have been made while the records were unbound, for in the bound registers of to-day, though there are leaves wanting and gaps, there is not enough to suggest any great mutilation: and the *lacunae* are so conspicuous where there is no possibility of leaves having been cut out that it is dangerous to argue much from them in other places. A careless book shows plenty of irregu-

registers being what they are, even if they were extant in a complete series in every diocese. And this is very far from being the case.

The case stands thus:—in three out of the eighteen English dioceses in the southern province there are no records available for our purpose. At Bristol there are no records at all, as they were all burnt in the fire in 1831. At Hereford the records earlier than 1860 have perished—also by fire; while at Lincoln the registers are missing of Bishops Holbeach, Taylor, White, and Watson, i. e. 1547–1560. The Welsh dioceses have not been taken into account in this inquiry: the evidence is very small and seemed hardly worth pursuing[1].

In the northern province the diocese of Sodor and Man has not been taken into account. At Carlisle the registers are missing between 1390 and 1560[2].

larities, but a methodical book shows few or none: it all seems a question of carelessness, not malice.

[1] At St. Asaph and Llandaff there are no registers earlier than 1660: at St. David's there is the record of only the closing part of Bishop Morgan's episcopate, 1554–1559. About Bangor it seems impossible to get any information. But see Appendix XVIII.

[2] The register of Oglethorpe was extant in Elizabeth's reign, but is not now to be found.

Among the eighteen dioceses which really come into account London stands pre-eminent not only on account of its own natural position, but also on account of the fullness and orderliness of the records. It will be best therefore to take the London diocese as the base of our inquiry, illustrating, enlarging, or modifying the results obtained there by parallels from the other dioceses.

It will be best before entering on the real inquiry to put the whole thing on as a solid a basis as possible by giving, in addition to the general description of diocesan records above (p. 29), a short summary in detail of the evidence which has been forthcoming from various dioceses.

For the diocese of Canterbury the registers of Cranmer, Pole, and Parker are extant in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace; and the acts of the Dean and Chapter as guardians of the see and the province, during the long vacancy between Cranmer and Pole, are set down in full in a register in the Library of the Dean and Chapter at Canterbury.

The character of Cranmer's Register is well known from the description of it given by

Haddan in his preface to Bramhall's *Works*, vol. iii [1]. The records of the affairs of the province are incompletely entered, and there are some very deplorable blanks; but the register, though defective, is orderly as registers go. It begins as usual with (1) the bulls and other documents relating to Cranmer's appointment: (2) then follow, f. 9, the writs for Convocation: then (3) a collection of licences, monitions, writs, &c., from which a good many documents are printed in Wilkins' *Concilia*: then [2] (4) the records of acts done by the archbishop as guardian during the vacancy of the sees of Hereford, 1538; Gloucester, Norwich, and London, 1549; Rochester and Winchester, 1550; Lincoln, Worcester, and Chichester, 1551; Hereford and Rochester, 1552; Bangor, 1553 [3]; and to this is appended (f. 137) a visitation of the diocese of Norwich in 1534. Then (5), f. 141, the process as to the nullity of the marriage of Anne of Cleves: then (6) the consecrations and translations in the

[1] Oxford, 1844.

[2] After the record of Goodrich's appointment to Ely, 1534, which is out of place.

[3] This represents only about a third part of the actual vacancies which occurred.

province, f. 149, more or less incomplete in number and in detail[1]: then (7) institutions and collations, f. 339; and lastly (8), at f. 427, the account of incarcerated clerks, with which the register ends.

The Register of the Dean and Chapter covers the ground from December, 1553, to March, $155\frac{5}{6}$. The first forty pages contain the documents relating to the appointment of bishops in the province and some miscellaneous letters, writs, &c., mixed up with them; then, at f. 55, come institutions and collations; at f. 101, acts done during vacancies in the sees of Bath and Wells, Lincoln, Hereford, Bristol, Ely, Norwich, Bangor, Exeter, St. Asaph, Winchester, Peterborough; at f. 138, records of deprivations of clergy.

Pole's Register begins with bulls and royal briefs, with bulls and other documents relating to the appointments to Peterborough, Lincoln, Carlisle, Chichester; then follow the archbishop's commissions to his Vicar-General and others, with dispensations, commissions, &c., ff. 15–31; then visitations of the cathedral and of All Souls' College, Oxford, ff. 32–36; then acts during the vacancy in nine sees,

[1] See Haddan, Preface to *Bramhall*, iii.

ff. 37–64; finally, institutions and collations, &c., ff. 67–82.

For the diocese of York the state of things is far less satisfactory. The volume containing the acts of Holgate (1545—March 13, $155\frac{2}{4}$) and Heath (March 26, 1555—July, 1559), is ill-kept and ill-arranged. The earlier pages contain miscellaneous writs for Convocation, &c.; at f. 17 the institutions and collations begin, but they do not cover the last six months of Holgate's rule (only to Sept. 8, 1553), and have a small number of other parochial documents mixed with them; at f. 53 there are two documents of interest: (1) the foundation of a grammar-school at Estretford (East Retford), Notts; (2) the archbishop's injunctions to the Dean and Chapter with regard to the visitation (August 15, 1552), followed by blank leaves, an odd institution and some parochial documents, a Convocation mandate and a number of wills. The records of Heath begin at f. 111; after the opening bulls, commissions, &c., on his appointment, there follow institutions and collations, Oct. 2, 1555—Oct. 13, 1557; and then, f. 123, a collection of dispensations, documents about advowsons, &c., and finally a large collection of

wills. It will be observed that these records are very imperfect, and in particular have nothing about the dioceses of the province; even the institutions are incomplete. Unfortunately the register of the dean and chapter for the long and critical vacancy of the see, $155\frac{4}{5}$, is not now to be found, though it existed in the last century, and was used by Wharton, and by Wilkins in his *Concilia*[1].

The gaps in the episcopal register can, to a certain extent, be filled up from the Institution Books of the Vicar-General, two volumes covering between them the period 1547–1568. These are very carelessly kept and are chaotic in arrangement, but they supply the institutions for the last six months of Holgate, and have especially valuable light to throw on the acts done during the year of the vacancy between Holgate and Heath, $155\frac{4}{5}$.

The records of the archiepiscopal sees are of special interest, especially those of Canterbury, because of the metropolitical rights. It has on that account been thought wise to describe them at some length: the same fullness will not be necessary with regard to

[1] On the Northern Registers see Rolls Series, vol. 61, Preface.

the records of other dioceses. These, with one exception, can all be described summarily, but the London Register, containing the acts of Bonner and Ridley, and of Thirlby during his tenure of the short-lived see of Westminster, is a collection of historical documents of such importance that it deserves full and separate treatment[1]. The other London records are also full and valuable. The Vicar-General's books are at Somerset House. There is a splendid series of visitation books, and a valuable ordination book, beginning in 1550, which has formed the basis of a considerable part of our inquiry.

There remain thirteen sees in the southern province and two in the northern province whose records for this period are to be briefly described.

At Winchester the registers of Gardiner, Ponet, and White exist: the records of the two latter contain little but the institutions and collations[2].

At Rochester a thin volume contains the

[1] See Appendix XVI.

[2] These I have not seen; the volume has been in the binder's hands; but an account of the Register was kindly furnished by Mr. F. J. Baigent.

acts of Heath, Holbeach, Ridley, Ponet, Scory, and Griffin (1540–1558).

At Chichester the records of Sampson, Day, and Scory are bound together in a book which varies much in excellence and fullness. The acts of Sampson are hardly recorded at all: eleven ff. contain a certain few episcopal, royal, and parochial documents. Day's Register, on the other hand, is very full (1543–1551 and 155$\frac{4}{5}$), though not methodical: interwoven with institutions and other acts are a number of valuable documents, both general and local[1]. Only a few pages give an account of Scory's advent and seventeen institutions, and then Day's records are resumed. Another volume contains Christopherson's acts, with some interesting public documents, and then Barlow's follow.

At Salisbury the records of Shaxton, Salcot, *alias* Capon, and Jewell form one volume (1535–1571), and consist almost solely of institutions and collations, with an index to each and an appendix of ordinations.

At Exeter, Registers xiv, xv, xvi, xvii cover the long period of Voysey's episcopate (1519–

[1] It has been used by Wilkins.

1551), broken by the intrusion of Miles Coverdale. These registers are of two kinds: xiv and xvi contain mainly institutions, &c., and ordinations, the latter beginning with Coverdale; the other two, xv and xvii, have each of them the title REGISTRUM COMMUNE, and run parallel to the other registers, containing documents general and parochial, writs, mandates, licences, sequestrations, &c. Volume xviii contains the acts of Turbervile and Alley, records of institutions, &c., with documents inserted at intervals [1].

At Wells the register of Barlow is wanting, but Bourne's register exists and contains mainly institutions.

At Gloucester Bishop Hooper's register proper is not extant, but a methodical Vicar-General's book gives a good deal of information about institutions and collations. There is also a valuable collection of deeds of presentation in the reigns of Edward and Mary [2].

At Worcester the records are not large. Sixteen ff. deal with the first part of Heath's episcopate (1544–1551), and contain institutions, &c., with some valuable general and

[1] Well used by Wilkins. [2] These I have not seen.

parochial documents interspersed: two ff. are enough to record the acts of Hooper's short tenure (June 1552—June, 1553), and two ff. more for the rest of Heath's acts: at f. 21 Pates begins, and at f. 33 Sandys. The register preserves throughout its character as a mixed record of institutions and documents, and even so not very complete.

The main interest of King's Register at Oxford lies in the splendid ordination records from 1544–1568. The number of institutions is not large: they relate only to Oxfordshire, as the Berkshire institutions are to be found at Salisbury, and those of Bucks were recorded at Lincoln and have now perished. The later records up to 1601 contained in the same volume are much less complete: the institutions extend only to 1570, while there are no ordinations between 1568 and 1597.

At Lichfield the Act Book 14 consists of three parts—(*a*) Blyth's register, 1503–1532 (ff. 1–115). (*b*) Register of the guardians, during the vacancy, and of Bishop Lee, 1534–1536, the latter consisting merely of institutions and collations. (*c*) Register of Sampson for the years 1543–1552, containing only

parochial records. Act Book 15 contains the rest of Sampson, with Bayne and Bentham, but is also mainly a record of institutions and collations.

At Ely there is a volume containing acts of Goodrich, Thirlby, and Cox, and a parallel volume containing West, Goodrich, Thirlby, Cox, &c.; but the contents of each are both miscellaneous and defective, and the relation of the volumes to one another is not at all clear. There are some valuable public documents mixed up with what seems to be a rather imperfect record of institutions and collations, especially in Queen Mary's time.

At Peterborough the records begin with an institution book, 1541–1573. There are also visitation books of the period.

At Norwich a volume contains the acts of Thirlby and Hopton (1550–1558), but there is little but institutions and collations. Another register contains miscellaneous public documents, beginning with the Forty-two Articles and the subscriptions to them, and containing a number of Marian and Elizabethan documents mixed, some of considerable interest.

At Durham a single thin volume covers

the long episcopate of Tonstall and that of Pilkington (1530–1567): it is noticeable for the fullness of its ordination records, but in other respects it is scanty.

At Chester an ordination book gives full details from the beginning of the see to 1558[1], and a second book carries them on from 1562 to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The institutions and collations are in a separate book (1541–), methodically kept, but not complete. There is also a valuable series of visitation books[2].

This account of the records must not be taken as a final one. It is difficult, even with the willing co-operation of the officials, to discover what there is and is not in many registries. It seems to the student a great pity that the example of the Bishop of Ely has not been more generally followed in dealing with the records of the see as they deserve to be dealt with,—by having a careful calendar of all the records compiled and printed, and by housing the books themselves in such a way that they are both safe and accessible.

[1] Actually from Sept. 1542: the first pages are gone. It is soon to be published by the local Record Society.

[2] These I have not seen.

CHAPTER III.

The Deprivations.

We are now in a position to estimate the bearing and evidence of these documents upon the situation of the clergy in the decade 1550–1560. The diocese of London will form the centre of our inquiry, but information as to the state of other dioceses will be useful at every turn.

We will first consider the vicissitudes of the beneficed clergy. It is evident that their position in their benefices was very little affected by any of the Reformation changes up to 1550. The tyrannical claims of Henry had dealt them some very severe blows, but they had kept in their places and put up with them as best they could: many of the ejected religious found their way into benefices and remained there in spite of changes. The parish of Stepney, then a suburb of London, containing both a rectory and a

vicarage, may be taken as a representative specimen to exemplify at once the two principal kinds of disturbance which took place and also the more normal calm. Here Miles Wyllen was deprived of the vicarage in 1534 for disrespect to the Crown, and imprisoned; while William Jerome, who obtained the vicarage in 1537 on the resignation of Wyllen's successor, was put out of it in 1540, imprisoned, and finally burnt in Smithfield for his theological opinions, combined with an antagonistic attitude to government[1]. But then came a period of comparative peace, during which both the rectory and vicarage were held by quondam abbats, and here, as elsewhere, things went on without other disturbance to the end of Henry's reign and through that of Edward: great as were the changes and considerable the dissatisfaction which they caused in many quarters, the clergy put up with them and continued solidly intrenched behind their rights in their benefices.

But when Mary came to the throne, all this altered, and deprivation became the order of the day: we must therefore devote this chapter

[1] Foxe, v. 429 ff.

to an examination of the extent, the cause, and the method of the Marian deprivations.

A careful study of the records of the eighteen sees, dealt with in Chapter II, reveals results which, if not absolutely complete and final, are yet sufficient to give a fairly satisfactory account of the wholesale revolution by which the Marian regime was inaugurated.

The evidence from the diocese of London shall come first, not only because this seems in general the best method to adopt, but because the figures extracted from the Register may be easily verified by reference to Newcourt's *Repertorium*, where the lists of the incumbents of the various parishes of the old diocese of London are given one by one in detail.

The bishop and the dean head the list of the deprived, and four of the prebendaries come next. If we turn to the Register we find that between March 15, $155\frac{3}{4}$, and March 23, $155\frac{4}{5}$, i. e. the end of the ecclesiastical year, there were 119 cases of appointment to a benefice which was vacant by reason of a deprivation: in the next year twenty-one cases, and in the following year two cases. There were further eight deprivations in the

thirteen parishes belonging to the Archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction.

That is to say 150 benefices of the diocese of London changed hands in consequence of the deprivations which took place in February and March, $155\frac{3}{4}$, or about one in every four[1]: the case of the unbeneficed clergy is more difficult to estimate, but from analogy they may be supposed to amount to at least half as many as the beneficed clergy[2].

It is interesting to compare these figures with those obtained from other dioceses.

At Canterbury, where the record of the Dean and Chapter seems complete, there are fifty-nine such cases recorded in the same period, and nine in the following year[3].

[1] The list of parishes given by Newcourt amounts to close on 650: he does not, however, give details of all of them, nor are the appointments to all to be found recorded in the Bishop's Register, as some benefices were exempt from his jurisdiction; the total number of beneficed clergy deprived was therefore probably more than 150, and the total number of benefices, including thirty prebends, close on 680. For the parishes subject to the archbishop, see below.

[2] At Norwich (see below) they were less than half, but in London the proportion would in all probability have been higher.

[3] This does not include the London parishes of the archbishop's jurisdiction, whose appointments are entered here.

At Chichester, Salisbury, and Peterborough, there are forty-eight, sixty-six, and thirty-three respectively for the first period of nearly thirteen months, and eight, six, two for the second year: here too the records seem fairly complete.

At Rochester a return was made on Jan. 12, $155\frac{4}{5}$, which gives evidence of thirty-three cases.

At Exeter forty-four cases had been entered when the see fell vacant by Voysey's death (October 23): two more are found from the record of the vacancy in the Register of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury: three are found in the closing six months of 1555, during which Turbervile was bishop, and one in 1556, making fifty in all.

With regard to Bath and Wells, Bourne's Register shows seventy-nine cases in the closing eleven months of 1554, besides eighteen cases in which the reason of the vacancy is not given: in some of these it is fairly clear that deprivation lies behind. In 1555 three deprivations and three unexplained vacancies[1].

[1] The returns given by Dixon, iv. 148, omit twelve cases between August 3 and 27, 1554, and his estimate of the benefices seems too low.

At Norwich there is a list of the deprived clergy extant for each archdeaconry, discriminating secular from religious and beneficed from unbeneficed: it has all the appearance of an official return, and dates in March and April are assigned to the earlier entries. Altogether 243 beneficed clergy and 100 unbeneficed are named, or ninety-three religious against 253 seculars.

At Gloucester the Vicar-General's book gives evidence of fifty-four cases of deprivation between May 16, 1554, and April 19, 1555, when the entries almost cease.

In Oxfordshire the Register of Bishop King indicates eight cases in 1554 and one in 1555.

At Ely four cases are recorded in April, 1554[1]: seventeen during the vacancy are recorded in the Register of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, and fourteen during Thirlby's first nineteen months, making thirty-five in all during 1554 and 1555. Three more are recorded in 1556–1559. But the records have every appearance of being very incomplete.

[1] There is perhaps a gap in the Register from Feb. 7 to April 19. The second Register only repeats the same entries, so it is possible that there were no appointments between those dates, but it seems unlikely.

At Lichfield and Worcester again the records are very defective; the former exhibits fifteen cases and the latter five in the whole course of the reign; but at Worcester no institutions at all are recorded in 1554 and 1555, the two crucial years; while with regard to the Lichfield diocese the information given by Strype is at once fuller and more certain, since he gives the names of forty-three clergy from the actual acts of deprivation direct, instead of deducing numbers, as we have done so far in the main, from the reasons for the vacancy of benefices as recorded in the registers[1].

Turning to the northern province, the records are all unsatisfactory. At York the main evidence is to be found in the Vicar-General's Act Book, where eight cases of deprivation are mentioned in 1554, and one case in Heath's Register on Jan. 16, $155\frac{4}{5}$.

At Durham there are no institutions recorded in 1553 or 1555, and only fourteen in 1554, six of which show deprivations to have taken place.

At Chester only four cases of deprivation come up throughout Queen Mary's reign, but from other sources others are known which

[1] *Eccl. Mem.* III. i. 168. See Harl. MS. 421, f. 53.

are not there noted, so the record must be pronounced incomplete.

Now of all these figures the only ones which are in the full sense of the word *complete* are those from Norwich, which come from a formal return made for the bishop[1]. The others are all incomplete, and the Norwich records enable us to roughly estimate the extent of that incompleteness. For from an examination of the institutions and collations in the Norwich Register (such as form the source of the statistics given for other dioceses) we only arrive at 172 as the number of deprivations there, as against 243 beneficed clergy who are entered in the return as having been deprived: the balance is no doubt partly accounted for by benefices which are merely described as "vacant"; perhaps also some of the "resignations" of the Register are among the "deprivations" of the return. If this analogy held good elsewhere we should have

[1] No doubt for the Barons of the Exchequer: see Appendix VIII. The Rochester return, so far as it goes, is complete: it gives twenty-five vacancies filled as against twenty-four in the register of institutions, and eight unfilled. There are no Exchequer returns extant at the Record Office before Elizabeth's reign.

to add two-fifths as much again to the numbers obtained from reckoning up deprivations recorded in the Registers. In any case it is clear that all the totals given above with regard to dioceses other than Norwich are well under the mark, since they comprise only those benefices where a definite mention of deprivation is made in the Register, and take no account of other cases, where a deprivation took place, but the benefice at the next appointment was merely described as "vacant."

After all it is difficult to know exactly what to conclude as to the extent of the deprivations: the London average is probably too high for the rest of the dioceses; it is more likely that Wharton's estimate of one in every five is nearer the mark. Lingard concurred in this, and Dixon adopts it as the highest proportion which can be called probable: it must be remembered that our figures are probably all too low, but against that we may set the fact that the home dioceses seem those most affected, and the numbers and ratios steadily diminish the greater the distance from London[1].

[1] Dixon, iv. 144. Wharton includes the London parishes in his Canterbury estimate (Harmer, p. 138); deducting them from the 380 benefices which he reckons,

There is further the question of the unbeneficed clergy to take into account: the only piece of evidence forthcoming so far is the Norwich return, which shows two unbeneficed clergy for every five beneficed clergy deprived. The evidence is too scanty and the circumstances too variable to draw any general conclusion; but it seems natural to suppose that fewer unbeneficed than beneficed clergy proportionately would be deprived: that is, that on the whole, when the former are taken into account, the average suggested above for beneficed clergy would have to be still further

the proportion works out at about one to six. But 270 seems a much more likely number for the benefices in the diocese, and this would work out at a ratio of one to four; the same ratio is shown not only by London but by Rochester diocese, which contained only about 150 benefices. Norwich shows a ratio of one to five beneficed clergy, and Bath and Wells the same, estimating the benefices at 430. In Salisbury and Chichester the proportion seems to have been about one to six, taking the number of benefices as 450 and 340 respectively. In Peterborough one to ten, reckoning 360 benefices. In Exeter it falls to one in twelve or fourteen, as the number of benefices there must have been between six and seven hundred. In Oxford, to one in twenty, reckoning about 200 benefices. These estimates of the number of benefices are drawn from Bacon's *Liber Regis* (except that of London from Newcourt), and are more likely to be too high than too low.

reduced: perhaps the final estimate may best be put at one in every six.

When we begin to go into the question of the meaning of all this, the answer is simple enough: it means that so many clergy were married.

An attempt had been made in Henry's reign to abrogate for the secular clergy the law or custom of celibacy, but it had met with much opposition, and the King issued a proclamation on Nov. 16, 1521, threatening married clergy with deprivation and imprisonment[1].

In the following reign, however, Convocation[2] sanctioned the marriage of priests in 1547, and at the beginning of 1549 an Act of Parliament gave civil sanction to such marriage. A number of clergy speedily took advantage of it; but they found themselves placed in a difficult position when the Edwardian Act was repealed by Mary's great Statute of Repeals, and neither civil nor ecclesiastical authorities any longer countenanced their state[3]. This Act, in some of

[1] See the proclamation, Harmer, No. III, p. 168, or Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. p. 696.

[2] *Defence of Priests' Marriages*, p. 351.

[3] Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, lxx. p. 366, and lxxiii. p. 377.

its provisions, came into force on December 20, and before that time a proclamation inhibited the married clergy from ministering or saying mass [1]; this no doubt was the signal for many, who had not already gone, to hasten to leave the country.

The deprivations enable us to see to what extent the clergy had married; for there is no doubt that the two go together as cause and effect, and the marriage and the deprivations are practically co-extensive. While on the one hand it is evident that all the married clergy were deprived[2], it is similarly clear on the other side that practically all those who were deprived were deprived for marriage.

In the London Institutions the cause of deprivation is stated in all cases (about 150) except seven, and the cause is always marriage. In those exceptional cases, one priest certainly was married, viz. Barnard Sandyforth, Vicar of Canewdon [3]; in another case at

[1] Machyn, p. 50. Convocation seems to have been too much occupied with other business to take the matter in hand or withdraw its former sanction.

[2] Some few perhaps escaped detection, such as Fairbank, Curate of Warbleton, Sussex, of whom Strype speaks. *Memorials*, III. i. 171.

[3] See below, p. 62.

N. Shoebury, the name of the late incumbent is not mentioned (W. Rowbotham), so we should not expect to find the usual description—*clerici*, or *presbiteri coniugati*. In two other cases, that of John Bradford, prebendary of Kentish Town, and John Dey of St. Ethèlburga, Bishopsgate, no cause is given; indeed, in Bradford's case, the prebend is merely said to be vacant, and it is not even stated that he was deprived: it is noteworthy[1] that both these men got into trouble earlier than the general stir to eject the married clergy. They were both concerned in the disturbance at Bourne's sermon at Paul's Cross on August 13, and, while Bradford was sent to the Tower on August 21, Dey was pilloried on August 21 and 23: they were presumably also deprived, and the charge against both of them was seditious language and behaviour[2]: they stand therefore on a different footing. There remain only two cases unaccounted for, viz. William Charleton of East Hanningfield, and Richard Warde of Epping, and it is only natural to suppose, in the absence of further evidence,

[1] See below, p. 112.

[2] Strype, *Mem.* III. i. 32–34, and Foxe, vii. 145–.

that their case was analogous to that of the vast majority.

Somewhat similar is the case of John Pullan, Vicar of St. Peter's, Cornhill, who was summoned before the Vicar-General as early as November 5, 1553, but when his case was postponed till November 10 did not appear, and was finally deprived on the following February 20[1].

In the Canterbury Institutions marriage is given as the cause of deprivation in twenty-three cases, and in many of the other cases it is known that the deprived priest was married[2].

In other cases the cause of deprivation is more rarely or even never given, but no doubt it was marriage in these cases too: it seems not to have been usual at other times to record the cause of deprivation, therefore where it is recorded it is a piece of gratuitous information. At Gloucester no cause is given in the first thirty-eight cases, but this cause is assigned in the case of fifteen out of the

[1] *Vicar-General's Book* (Crooke), pp. 158, 159, 187.

[2] e. g. Lawrence Saunders, Peter Alexander, Rowland Taylor, John Joseph, and many more in the *Reg.* of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, ff. 138–140, 143–.

last sixteen deprivations: in the single exception no cause is given. The omission of the cause of deprivation therefore argues nothing, and where no cause is given it may be taken to be almost invariably marriage.

There are indeed some few cases in which another cause is assigned, but these are rare, and do not invalidate the general rule. In Salisbury diocese we find evidence of prebends and even vicarages in the hands of laymen: in Capon's Register at f. 22 there is a royal dispensation of Henry VIII, dated March 16, Regn. 35, to William Saynt Barbe, "*de privata camera*," to hold the Rectory of St. Edmund, Salisbury, though lay and married (*etiamsi clericali ordine minime insignitus sed forsan uxoratus fuit*[1]). It is therefore not surprising later on in the same Register to find the holders of four prebends and two vicarages deprived during 1554 because they were not in Orders[2].

[1] On the lay tenure of benefices, see further below, p. 135. There seem to have been also cases of the same sort in the diocese of Bath and Wells, for special mention is made of them in Bourne's Commission to Cottrell; see Dixon, iv. 148, and below, p. 70.

[2] One of these men seems subsequently to have taken Orders; for the Prebend of Bedminster was vacated *per deprivationem Thome Burbanke laici ultimi inc. et preb.* (see

At Lichfield two men were deprived for want of priest's Orders: viz., under date June 5, 1555, the vacancy at Drayton is thus explained in the Register: *pro eo quod Laurencius Nowell nuper Rector eiusdem ecclesie a fine anni a die adepte possessionis dicte ecclesie parochialis se in sacerdotium promoveri distulit et neglexit*, and under the following April 8 a similar account is given of Thomas Ashton's deprivation from Shawbury[1].

But with these two exceptions no cause other than marriage is so far known to be given in the Registers as the reason of deprivation; and this negative evidence very strongly confirms the positive evidence, and justifies the statement that speaking generally the marriages and the deprivations were coextensive. We pass now to consider the method of the deprivations.

May, 1554), and on March 4, 1557, Thomas Burbank was ordained sub-deacon at Oxford. This was quite in accordance with the instructions given to Pole by Julius III, see p. 147. The names of the other *laici* so deprived are Christopher Taylor, Thomas Wylde, John Arscott, John Cooke, and Thomas Mylls. There are similar cases in the Exeter diocese—the deprivation of "Nicholas Courtnay meri laici" from the Rectory of Powderham, and the sequestration of a benefice held by a *laicus uxoratus*.

[1] See further on these cases below, p. 108.

The first steps were the Marian Repeal Act and the Proclamation mentioned above; but there the matter seems to have rested for two months or more, till the Queen on March 4, $155\frac{3}{4}$, issued her Injunctions. These contained the following commands:—

7. Item that every bishop and all the other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive or declare deprived and amove according to their learning and discretion all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who contrary to the state of their order and the laudable custom of the church have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slaunderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also during the said process the fruits and profits of the said benefits and ecclesiastical promotions.

8. Item that the said bishop and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married whose wives be dead, than with others whose women do yet remain in life: and likewise such priests, as with the consent of their wives or women openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used the more favourably: in which case, after penance effectually done, the bishop according to his

discretion and wisdom may upon just consideration receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place; appointing them such a portion to live upon to be paid out of their benefice, whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officers, as they shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

9. Item that every bishop and all persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man having solemnly professed chastity to continue with his woman or wife: but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein [1].

Shortly afterwards the Lower House of Convocation presented to the Bishops a petition, in the course of which we read [2]:—

15. Item that married priests may be compellyd to forsake their women whom they take as their wives.

24. Item that such priests, as were lately married and refuse to reconcile themselfs to

[1] Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, lxxiv. p. 381; Cardwell, *Doc. Ann.* xxx. i. 123; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 89.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 95. Cp. also 145, 146. 157.

their order and to be restored to administration, may have some especial animadversions, whereby as apostates they may be discerned from others.

And lower down:—

9. Ut quae nuper sacerdotum uxores habitae sunt his libera nubendi potestas promulgetur.

The date of this petition seems not very clear, but it shows that the work of deprivation had begun and gone forward.

Bonner, on receiving the Queen's letter and Injunctions, issued on March 10 a commission to the Archdeacon of Colchester, and probably to the others in similar terms, for the sequestration of the benefices of married clergy [1], and appended to it a list of cases to be dealt with. A special sequestration, couched in similar terms, was issued by Bonner ten days later in the case of Barnard Sandyforde, *Vicarius pretensus ecclesie de Canwedon*; and on May 8 a sequestration issued in different terms in connexion with the parish

[1] See Appendix III. The list is wanting. The number of documents about deprivations in London is disappointingly small. The Vicar-General's Book contains no processes against married clergy at all.

of Laindon, where John Hodgkin, suffragan Bishop of Bedford, had been deprived for marriage [1].

All these sequestrations imply that the deprivations had already taken place; in fact, it is clear that in this respect, as in many others, in the hurry of reaction a policy was begun and actively carried on before it had been formally and officially adopted. Foxe records [2] that in the diocese of London the order went forth as early as the end of February for the deprivation of the married clergy, and they were given a fortnight in which to bring their wives and procure the sentence of divorce from them. Bonner's Register gives one document illustrative of the further process of divorce after deprivation, viz. the Bishop's commission to William Roper to proceed against John Draper and Joan Golde his wife [3].

The course of some of the deprivations in the jurisdiction of Canterbury is well known from the particulars given by Strype [4]. The

[1] Appendix IV. Cp. Voysey's *Registrum Commune* at Exeter.

[2] Quoted in Dixon, iv. 156. See Strype, *Cranmer*, 471.

[3] Appendix V.

[4] Strype, *Cranmer*, 467, from *Reg.* Dean and Chapter of

Dean and Chapter acted very promptly on the Queen's instructions, for on March 7, three days after the issue of the royal letter, nine London clergy in the archbishop's jurisdiction were cited before the Vicar-General for marriage. Only three appeared to answer to the citation and to the articles specified to be administered to married priests[1]. Richard Marshe admitted that he had been a Franciscan at York and Norwich, had been ordained priest, and had been sixteen years Rector of St. Pancras: that four years ago he had married Barbara Norton, had children by her, and had nevertheless continued to officiate. John Turner admitted that he had been professed an Austin Canon at Wendeley, Herts, was ordained priest, and subsequently had been for thirteen years Rector of St. Leonard, Eastcheap: that on April 18, 1553, he married Anne Jordayn [?], a widow, and that she was now pregnant, but that nevertheless he had continued to officiate. Both the above were deprived, suspended, and divorced.

Canterbury, f. 138; reference should be made to the latter, for Strype's account is not very full.

[1] Printed by Strype (see above), by Harmer, Wilkins, and here in the Appendix, No. VI.

The third was a schoolmaster and chantry priest, at St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, John Elyot by name, who described his occupation as "teaching petits their Englyshe prymers, catachysmes, and suche like English books." He gave the following account of himself: he had been professed as a Carmelite at Coventry and ordained priest: on the suppression of the convent he became a chantry priest and received £5 pension on the suppression of the chantry: he married Joane Baile, and they had had several children, but were now separated. He was ordered no longer to teach his scholars Mattins, Psalter, &c. in English, but in Latin, so that they might be able to answer the priest at mass.

Later on in the volume we have the other side of the question brought out in the confession of Annie Jermyn, widow, who admitted that she had been married to Turner without banns by John Elyot above-mentioned at St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, on April 13, 1553. The sentence of divorce follows, and then the penance enjoined on Turner[1].

On March 19 evidence was taken against those who had refused to appear, and the

[1] See below, p. 83.

Vicar-General went to the Marshalsea to interview two of the cited priests, Lawrence Saunders, Rector of All Hallows, Bread Street, and Thomas Mountayne, Rector of St. Michael-in-Riola, who were already imprisoned. The latter admitted that he had been a priest for ten years and had been six years married, and continued to live so up till his imprisonment at Michaelmas. Saunders was less submissive, and replied to the interrogatories, "I will not answer except I see you have a better commission, and I thinke the lawe will not bynd me to answer (being here in prison) to any such matter." Neither submission nor protest availed to stave off from them the sentence of deprivation.

The blow fell even more completely on the Chapter of Canterbury, for fourteen of its members were summoned on March 15: only half of them appeared, admitted their marriage, and defended it[1]; but all alike, present or absent, met with the usual sentence[2].

[1] "Dixerunt se nihil habere dicendum quod de iure ecclesiastico et sanctorum patrum decretis in suo roborè stantibus ipsis utile esse possit. Verum de iure divino tantum putabant se licite uxores suas duxisse et ductas deserere non posse salva conscientia." *Reg.* f. 155.

[2] The account may be seen more fully in Strype, *Cranmer*,

On the same day a large number of others were also deprived, and a few of the detailed acts of deprivation are entered in the Register.

The most interesting case is that of Rowland Taylor, the well-known parson of Hadley, who was summoned here perhaps because of his Rochester canonry [1], or some benefice in the Canterbury diocese. He stated that he had been married twenty-nine years before to a certain Margaret at the house of John Tyndale, merchant-tailor of London, *non in facie ecclesiae*, but in the presence of one Benet a priest, and of Tyndale and his wife: he had had nine children, of whom five survived. He had received minor orders as a secular at Norwich, was ordained priest eleven or twelve years previously by Yngworth, Bishop of Dover, and deacon three years earlier by Holbeach, then suffragan of Bristol: the subdiaconate he had never re-

471. Two of the Canons, Joseph and Alexander, were among the nine London clergy whose citation and trial has just been described.

[1] He was also Archdeacon of Cornwall and Prebendary of Hereford. The Rochester processes took place on March 14–15, but this fuller account comes earlier in the Register than they and under date April 2: both seem to have culminated in deprivation.

ceived at all. He was then a married man with wife and family when he was ordained deacon and priest. These facts are in themselves interesting, though we have nothing here of the graphic account which Foxe gives of Taylor's later capture and examination before Gardiner. Each examination led to deprivation, but it was more than a year later when Taylor was further convicted on other charges, and burnt at Hadley, June 9, $155\frac{5}{6}$[1].

Meanwhile a very similar scene was going on at Rochester under the same authority, and the record stands along with those of Canterbury. The Rochester processes also give some interesting glimpses into clerical life, which we owe to an inquiry held in the cathedral sacristy by the commissioners of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury on March 14.

John Symkins was ordained priest as an Austin friar at St. Bartholomew's, London, became prior of St. Gregory's, Canterbury, and received at the dissolution a pension of twenty marks, which was exchanged for the Rochester canonry: has been married five years, and has two children.

[1] See Foxe, vi. 676– ; vii. 685.

Nicholas Arnold was ordained priest as a Benedictine at Rochester, and became *lector evangelii*: he married Joane Perse, widow, six years ago, in his own house, but gave her up at All Saints' Day.

Thomas Bedlow was ordained priest twenty years since at Halling Church, in Rochester diocese, and shortly afterwards married Joan Rawlins at St. Nicholas Church, Rochester.

These are typical cases, and like many more throw considerable light on the condition of the clergy, both with regard to the fate of the ejected monks, and with regard to the tacit recognition of clerical marriage long before it was publicly authorized.

The Dean and Chapter of Canterbury were at the same time issuing other commissions to deal with the married clergy in other vacant dioceses, viz. Bath and Wells, Bristol, Lichfield, St. Asaph, and Bangor. The first is undated[1], but must belong to February or March, $155\frac{3}{4}$. It empowers Archdeacon Cottrell and others to summon, judge, and deprive the married clergy. When Bourne became bishop he at once continued these powers to Cottrell as Vicar-General, and added to them

[1] Appendix VII.

authority to deal with laymen who were in possession of benefices [1].

The course of the proceedings in the diocese of Lichfield can be closely followed in the documents preserved among Foxe's MSS. and used by Strype [2]. The bishop issued commissions in each archdeaconry to administer articles to the clergy cited: the first of these articles established the fact that they were priests; the second, that either by making profession in some religious order, or at least by receiving the order of priesthood, they had made a vow of chastity and continence; the third, that they had knowledge of this; the fourth, that they had officiated and administered sacraments; the fifth, that, notwithstanding, they had married and broken their vow; the sixth, that consequently they were to be deprived [3]. These articles are the same for all, only the various particulars in No. 5 are repeated in each schedule for each case individually. On the subsequent proceedings these Lichfield documents are silent.

[1] See the Commission in Dixon, iv. 148. See p. 135 *n.*

[2] Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 421 f. 53; Strype, *Memorials*, III. i. 168.

[3] Strype, Original Doc. xii. in *Memorials*, III. ii. 209.

From the above details a fair account can be gathered of the method of the deprivations. The legislation of both Convocation and Parliament in Edward's reign which legalized the marriage of priests was from the first regarded as null and void, as is clearly shown by the Royal proclamation, which claimed to suspend married priests. When subsequently Parliament took action and repealed the Edwardian law, the case was put into order so far as civil law went, but it seems that nothing was done to repeal formally the ecclesiastical sanction which Convocation had given to the marriage of priests in 1547. This was studiously ignored, and for justification of the action against married priests the documents appeal to the customs of the Latin Church, or else to vows either formally or implicitly taken by the priests at their religious profession or at their ordination [1]. The whole action owed a great deal of its initiative and force to civil power: it was the

[1] It seems that in some cases a distinction was drawn between those who had been religious and those who had not, and in other cases they were dealt with alike; e. g. at Lichfield, as above; compare the Queen's Articles, No. 7 above, p. 60. But the result was the same either way; a married priest whether religious or secular was deprived,

crown which began the movement against married clergy: it was Mary's letter and injunctions which set the ecclesiastical authorities to work, and the crown took from first to last a very genuine interest in the process, partly from the point of view of its first-fruits [1].

It is no part of the present undertaking to enter into the question, as to how far this action was justifiable in equity and ecclesiastical law. It is remarkable how little resistance was made by those who were expelled and divorced in consequence of it: some, such as Rowland Taylor, stoutly defended their position [2], and tried to argue the question

and the only reason for making the distinction seems to have been that the case was far stronger against a religious, who had taken a vow more or less definitely, than against a secular, who had entered into no such specific engagement; and it was hoped that the stronger case would carry the weaker case through. The treatment subsequent to deprivation seems, however, to have differed: for divorce was compulsory in the case of religious, while in the case of seculars separation seems only to have been required if the priest wished to continue his ministry. Wharton seems to have exaggerated the distinction; see Harmer, p. 139, and observation in Strype's *Cranmer*, 1058.

[1] Appendix VIII. Compare Appendix III, but the debts of those who were deprived were remitted. See State Papers, Domestic, Mary, iv. 26.

[2] Foxe, vi. 676 and ff.

of the marriage of priests on its merits, but most of the clergy submitted quietly. It seems probable that public feeling, though tolerant of clerical marriage in secret, was still dominated openly by the long tradition of the celibacy of the clergy, and did not support the married priests; and it is significant that of the two answers made to Dr. Martin's book against priests' marriages, the most considerable did not appear till Archbishop Parker published it in the following reign [1].

[1] There has been considerable confusion connected with the apologies for the marriage of the clergy. The following facts are clear. In 1549, Ponet published the original defence: its full description is as follows [Brit. Mus. 697. a. 7]: *Title.* A Defence | for mariage of | Priestes by Scrip | ture and aunciente | Wryters | Made by Johñ Po | net Doctoure of | Diuinitee. | Heb. 13 | Wedlocke is to bee hadde in | honoure amonge all men | and the bedde undefiled: | As for whoorekepers | and aduouterers, | God shal iudge | them. || Imprinted at London, by Reynold Wolff | Cum sereniss: Regis privilegio. | *Colophon.* Imprinted at London in the | house of Reynolde | Wolfe | Anno Domini | M.D.XLIX. This was followed by Martin's rejoinder [Brit. Mus. 697. g. 13. (1)]: *Title.* A Traictise | declaryng and plain | ly prouyng that the preten | sed marriage of Priestes, and pro | fessed persones, is no mariage but alto | gether unlawful, and in all ages, and | al countreies of Christendome, | bothe forbidden, and also | punyshed. | Herewith is comprised | in the later Chapitres, | a full confutation of Doctour Poy | nettes

Another reason for the absence of opposition, is that most of those who would

boke entitled a de | fence for the marriage | of Priestes. | By Thomas Martin, Doctour | of the Ciuile Lavves. | ¶ Excusum Londini in | edibus Roberti Caly, Typographi: | Mense Maii Anno 1554. | Cum priuilegio. | To this book of Martin's two replies were issued: the first was undoubtedly by Ponet, Bishop of Winchester, published shortly before his death on April 11, 1556 [Brit. Mus. C. 35. b. 7]: *Title.* An Apolo | gie fully aunswe | ringe by Scriptures and aunceant | Doctors a blasphemose Book gatherid by D | Steph. Gardiner, of late Lord Chauncelar, D | Smyth of Oxford, Pighius, & other Pa | pists, as by ther books appeareth and of late set | furth under the name of Thomas Martin Do | ctor of the Civile lawes (as of himself he saieth) | against the godly marriadge of priests. Wherin | dyuers other matters which the Papists | defend be so confutid, that in Martyns | overthrow they may see there own | impudency and confusion | By Iohn Ponet Doctor of diuinitie | and Busshop of Winchester. Newly correctid and amendid. | The author desireth that the reader | will content himself with this first book vntill | he may haue leasure to set furth the next, whiche | shalbe by God's grace shortly. || Yt is a hard thing for the to spurn | against the prick: Act. 9. *Colophon.* The end of the first bok of answer to | Martin and other of that here | ticall sect 1556. | The second [Brit. Mus. 697. g. 13 (2)]: *Title.* A defence | of priestes mariages, stablysshed | by the imperial lawes of the | Realme of Englande, agaynst | a Civilian namyng hym | selfe Thomas Mar | tin doctour of | the Ciuile | lawes | goyng about to disproue the saide mariages, lawfull | . . . . &c. *Colophon.* ¶ Imprinted at London by | Richarde Jugge printer to the Queenes | Maiestie |

naturally have been the chief defenders of the marriage of priests, were already in exile when the main crisis came.

Cum privilegio regie maiestatis.—has been ascribed to Ponet, but probably wrongly, as Wharton showed in his observations on Strype (*Cranmer*, p. 1058; cp. *Specimen*, 137), since the author professes to be a layman who had never written before (pp. 101, 117), and speaks independently of Ponet. In spite of this the suspicion arises that these remarks were merely a cloak to the real personality of the writer: it was certainly published by Archbishop Parker, who describes it in his preface as "a certayne wrytyng beyng in my custodie gathered together and written in the raigne of King Philip & Queene Marie . . . which said booke was written by a learned man of that tyme who shortly after dyed, meaning if God had lent hym longer lyfe to have confuted more of the sandye groundes of the sayde Civilian (Martin). And thynkyng it at these dayes not unprofitable to be read for this controuersie I committed it to the printer." Later on he adds, "I wold nether adde to another man's writing nor diminish the same." But perhaps the archbishop "doth protest too much." He evidently means to suggest Ponet as the author who meant to write more (see above): this conflicts with the supposed layman's authorship, and so do other passages in the book. Probably Parker wrote it himself: he has the credit at any rate of writing the last part, and no doubt was one of few men, if not the only man, who had enough knowledge of Anglo-Saxon to do so. Further, in his tell-tale diary there is the following entry: *Scripsi defensionem coniugii sacerdotum contra Thomam Martin* 3 *Febr. ann. Dni.* 1555. Strype seems eventually to have come to this conclusion; see especially his *Life of Parker*, i. 66; ii. 445 ff.; iii. 22. Cp. Parker's *De Antiquitate*.

This serves to bring out a second notable point in connexion with the method by which the deprivations were effected, viz. that there was considerable warning given, before the blow actually fell. The Royal proclamation and the Act of Repeal showed what was to come, and many persons took advantage of the warning; some fled, while others, as it seems, tried to make better prospects for themselves by separating from their wives.

When the crash finally came, it came universally and all at once, for the end of February and the month of March must have witnessed almost the whole of the great mass of deprivations throughout the country. Complaints have very naturally been made of hastiness and irregularity in carrying out the formalities; it is only natural to find such a protest as that made by Lawrence Saunders, in the Marshalsea [1], or the complaint of Simon Pope, Rector of Warmington, of irregularity and injustice in the procedure by which he was deprived [2]. But in a great upheaval such

[1] See above, p. 66.

[2] He complains that the Bishop's commissary "Nulliter et inique ex officio suo mero . . . procedens iuris et iudiciorum ordine non servato sed neglecto praetermisso et

as this, which affected one in every six of the benefices in the kingdom, and was carried through with such rapidity, it would be absurd to expect to find regularity or accurate adherence to forms of law[1].

penitus spreto . . . me . . . non confessum neque aliquo modo saltem sufficienti convictum neque ad hoc vocatum nec citatum sed longe ante tempus sive terminum per eum primitus assignatum et affixum . . . privandum et amovendum fore decrevit," &c. The whole document is No. xiii. of Strype's Originals in *Memorials*, III. ii. 212, from Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 421. Compare III. i. 170.

[1] *A Defence of Priestes marriage* makes the following complaint: "What example have thei in stories before time that deprivations have been thus handeled before our daies. I will not speak of particular cases where some men have been deprived neuer conuicte no neuer called. Some called that were fast locked in prison and yet neuertheless depriued immediatly. Some depriued without the case of marriage after their order. Some induced to resign upon promise of pention and the promise as yet neuer performed. Some so depriued that they were spoiled of their wages for the whiche thei serued the halfe year before and not tenne days before the receipt sequestred from it. Some preuented from the half yere's receipt after charges of tenthes and subsidie paied: and yet not depriued sixe weekes after. Some . . . But I saie without the compasse of all such particular cases what example have thei in tymes paste that their owne lawes have been

M. Richard Wilkes
M. Bradford
Nicholas Bullingham
Doctor May
a greate nomber
D. Ponnet
D. Tailor
D. Parker

As soon as the work of deprivation was done, the work of restitution began. The Queen's Letter and Articles of March 4, which struck the keynote of the whole process, provided that when a priest separated from his wife, and had done penance, the bishop might readmit him to officiate "so it be not in the same place [1]."

In accordance with this provision, Bonner restored Scory, late Bishop of Chichester, "*ad publicam ecclesiastici Ministerii et Officii sui pastoralis functionem et executionem infra diocesim nostram Londinensem exercendam* [2]."

Similar treatment was used in the case of John Hodgkin, suffragan Bishop of Bedford, who had been deprived not only of the Vicarage of Laindon, as has been already explained, but also the Prebend of Harleston. Later on he was rehabilitated [3], and appointed

thus executed, deprivations so spedelie so headely without warnyng without election offered to be executed?" Compare a similar passage, p. 23.

[1] See above, p. 61, and compare Bonner's Visitation Articles, No. xxix, in Wilkins, iv. 107, or Cardwell, *Doc. Annals*, p. 144.

[2] *Reg.* Bonner, f. 347, printed in *De Hierarchia*, p. 149. Burnet, *History*, Record xiii.

[3] See the document in Estcourt's Appendix xviii*, p. li.

on April 2, 1555, to St. Peter's, Cornhill, whence John Pullan had been ejected; so that he clearly was among those who submitted to separation and penance, and was reappointed to minister elsewhere.

It would not be difficult to collect from the London Institutions evidence of many similar cases, e. g. John Spendlove, deprived of the Rectories of Hackney and Finchley, and the Prebend of Holywell, but reappointed on July 20, 1555, to St. Andrew, Undershaft, and many more[1]. One or two are of special interest—that of Wilfrid Jones, because of the extreme rapidity with which he accomplished the change, for he was instituted to St. Swithun on April 19, 1554; that of Antony Redfern and Adam Richardson, who exchanged benefices in 1554 and exchanged back again at Elizabeth's coming into power.

The same is observable in other institution lists, e. g., that of Bath and Wells, Norwich,

[1] See also in Newcourt's *Repertorium* the names of Christopher Threder, Henry Sydall, Edmund Pierson, Thomas Banester, Anthony Hewetson, Nicholas Browne, Thomas Wylson, John Shereman, John Barber, Hugh Gibson, John Calley, Thomas Yaxley, John Flexman, Silvester Campion, William Rowbotham, James Rothwell, Edward Popley.

Exeter, or that of Canterbury, where many of the London names reappear. But while drawing inferences from institution lists as to the extent of these restorations, it is also to be noted that more direct evidence of them is forthcoming, including actual letters, testimonial of restoration.

Bonner's Register furnishes us with two such instruments; the first is the restoration of Edmund Alstone, Curate of St. Mary's-at-Hill, and it explicitly states that he had performed his penance, and given satisfactory assurance that for the future he would mend his ways; and then certifies that in view of all this and of the need of priests he was absolved from ecclesiastical censures, suspension, and excommunication, and admitted to officiate elsewhere than in St. Mary's-at-Hill [1].

The second it is less natural to find in Bonner's Register, since it is a case connected with Westminster Abbey, which was exempt from the Bishop of London's jurisdiction. However, in order that cases of marriage there might not be overlooked, the Queen had on March 29 issued a Commission to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor, to deal

[1] Appendix IX.

with the situation there [1]. One result of this was that Alexander Bull, one of the minor canons, a priest and religious, who had married Agnes Turner, had been deprived and suspended, but was restored again to the exercise of his functions, on his promising to amend and submitting to penance [2].

Elsewhere the plan seems to have been conceived of transferring the priests to other dioceses; this is part of the programme sketched out for the new Bishop of Norwich in the "Articles of such things as be to be put in execution." But the plan was apparently not carried out to any great extent; in the diocese of Norwich it would be easy to find ten or twelve cases, at least, in which a deprived priest was almost at once instituted to another benefice in the diocese [3].

A more graphic picture of the process of restitution is given in the Canterbury Register.

[1] See the document in Rymer, xv. 376.

[2] Appendix X. There are others in the Vicar-General's Book, one from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury for the restoration of Percival Gybson, late Vicar of Barton (Ely), one from the Dean and Chapter of York for Ralph Whitling in that diocese, and one from Cardinal Pole. See below, Appendix XIV.

[3] Appendix XI.

One Robert Vevian was restored on his reading, signing, and delivering an act of recantation couched in the following terms:

"Whereas I Robert Vevian clerk, late parson of Hever in the county of Kent, being of the peculiar jurisdiction of the Church of Canterbury, being ordered a Prest about xxvij yeres past, having ministered as a Prest in all kind of Prestly function & ministration of Sacraments and Sacramentalls as to the office of a Prest appertaineth, have sithins that time contrary to the state of myne Orders, Decrees of the Church & laudable customs of the same marryed one Agnes Stanton being a single or solute woman and with her in one house as man and wief have cohabited and dwellid to the offence of my christen brethren & brech of the unity of Christs said church: I the said Robert do now lament & bewail my lief past & th' offence by me committed: intending firmly by Godds grace hereafter to lead a pure chaste & continent lief according to such grace as Almighty God of his mercy upon my humble petition & prayer shal grant me. And do here before you my competent judge & ordinary most humbly require absolution of & from al such censures & pains of the Lawes as by my said offence & ungodly behaviour I have incurrid and deservid: Promising firmly and solemnly professing before you in this present writing never to return to the said

Agnes Stanton as to my wief or concubyne, &c. . . ."

Similar recantations are recorded of three other priests [1], one of whom, John Browne of "Wymbaldowne," had aggravated his offence by marrying two wives in succession [2].

Others did not get off so easily, for the penance in their case was a real public function. The case of John Turner of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, has already been dealt with in its earlier phases: it will also afford a specimen of what the penance enjoined really was. It is thus described [3]:

"*Penannce enioyned to Sir John Turnor Prest late Parson of Saincte Leonards in Estchepe of the city of London.*

"Which is, that upon Monday next viz the xiijth of May 1554 in the parishe Church of Saincte Leonards aforesaid when the most number of people shall be there present, the same Sir John Turnor having a waxe Taper burninge in his hand and standing in the body of the Churche before the face of the people

[1] *Reg.* of Dean and Chapter, thence printed in Strype's *Cranmer*, Appendix, No. LXXV, 936.

[2] *Reg.* of Dean and Chapter, f. 150.

[3] *Reg.* of Dean and Chapter, f. 151, partly printed in Strype's *Cranmer*, 470.

shall openly and distinctly with a lowde voice saye and declare unto them as followith—

"'Good people I am come hither at this present tyme to declare unto you my sorrowfull & penitent harte for that being a prest [I] have presumd to marry one Annye Jermen, widowe, & under pretence of that matrimony contrary to the Canons and Custome of the universall Church have kepte her as my wief and lyvid contrary to the Canons and ordinances of the Church & to the evill example of good Christen people. Wherby now being asshamid of my former wickid lyving here I aske almightie god marcie and forgevenes & the hole Church. And am sorry & penitent even from the bottome of my harte therfore. And in token herof I am here (as you see) to declare and shewe unto you this my repentaunce, that before god on the later day you may testifie with me of the same. And I most hartelie & humbly praye & desire you all, whom by this evill example doing I have greatly offended, That for your parte you will forgeve me and remember me in your praiers, that god may geve me grace that hearafter I may leve a continent lief according to his law & the godly ordinances of our mother the holly catholike Church thorough & by his grace. I do here before you all openly promise for to do during my lief.'"

These official documents are borne out by

the testimony of eye-witnesses, for both Machyn and the Grey Friars' Chronicle describe a similar scene at St. Paul's [1].

The latter gives the following description:—

"Nov. 3 [1554]. Thys year the iiij day of November prechyd at Powlles Crosse D [Harpsfield] & there was v men, as iij prestes & ij temporalle men dyd open pennans. The iij prestes were maryd. One was a challon of Esynge spettylle & one a black friar and the iij an Austyne freer. And this was their pennans. Furst to come out of the vestre with shettes upon ther backes & eche of them a rodde in their hondes, with a taper lych: and furst came & knelyd before the hye aulter and there the suffrecane gave them their dyssipline: and than went downe before the crosse: & whan the precher had tane his benediccion of the byshoppe in the myddes of the church, they came downe unto the byshoppe & knelyd downe in the myddes of the church & there had their dyssiplines of hym & he kyssyd them: & soo went unto the crosse and stode there all the [sermon] tyme & whan he came unto the beddes they turned unto the precher and knelyd downe [and asked forgive]ness there of hym & then he showyd their oppynyons opynly in the pulpyt."

[1] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 92; *Machyn's Diary*, p. 73.

Machyn says:—

"One was Ser Thomas Lawes alias Griffyn of Elsing Spittle & that iiij were relegyous men and the feyth a temporall man that had two wyffes."

It has not been possible thoroughly to investigate the number of married clergy who were restored: cases have been noted of re-appointment to benefices, in London some two dozen, in Norwich diocese a good dozen, and so on: but no doubt many who were re-habilitated had to be content with inferior positions, and there is no evidence obtainable about them.

After making every allowance for such restitutions, it is quite clear that the Marian deprivations amount to a great upheaval, which for the time at least altered the whole personnel of the clergy in a way unequalled either before or since. We have already seen how little was the effect of the changes under Henry or Edward, and a very superficial glance at the state of things at Elizabeth's accession will show that there was nothing of the sort then at all comparable in its effects to the wholesale Marian devastation.

In the diocese of London there is no sign

of deprivation at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign: in the four years 1561–1564 about sixty clergy were deprived, half of them in order to restore those who had been turned out under Mary: this is small compared with the 120 ejected in a single year then.

At Peterborough there is one deprivation recorded in 1559, two in 1560, and, what is still more to the point, when the vacancy was over, two in 1561, the first year of Scambler's episcopate: five, as against thirty-three in thirteen months of Mary's reign.

At Salisbury three deprivations are recorded in 1560, and perhaps one in 1561: four, as against sixty-six in the same thirteen months.

At Chichester Barlow seems to have acted with greater severity, for there are sixteen deprivations recorded in the fifteen months between Jan. 26, $15\frac{5}{6}\frac{9}{0}$, and April 13, 1561.

There is no need to multiply examples[1]: the contrast is striking, and shows without doubt what a flash in the pan the Marian Reaction was.

[1] The whole subject of the Elizabethan deprivations is now receiving special attention from Mr. Gee, and these few gleanings from the Registers are only put forth to point the contrast for the present purpose; meanwhile his full treatment of the subject will be looked for with interest.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ordinations.

The deprivations which were discussed in the last chapter were important not so much for themselves as for the extent to which they affected the clergy throughout the country. In this chapter the opposite phenomenon comes up before us, for in discussing the question of ordinations during the decade 1550–1560 we have a problem to deal with which is very important in itself, but which affected very little the normal flow of the stream of clerical life.

In January, $15\frac{4}{5}\frac{9}{0}$, an Act had been passed for the framing of a new Ordinal, and before April 1 (the date contemplated[1]) the English

[1] Dixon, iii. 159, 188; Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, 261–3, from Strype, *Cranmer*, i. p. 273. Strype's account here of Cranmer's ordination is certainly inaccurate, for Sampson, whom he claims to have been ordained by Cranmer in 1549, was ordained deacon by Ridley, Aug. 10, 1550. With regard to Drakes

Ordinal was ready, though it proved to have carried out only part of the intentions of the Act inasmuch as it made provision only for the biblical grades, bishops or archbishops, priests and deacons, and not the lower orders or "other ministers of the Church," as they were termed in the Act.

It was issued in a revised form with the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, which which was in force from November 1, 1552, till the following July: but the Ordinal does not at all show the same change of tone which is manifest in other parts of the Second Prayer Book: the alterations were slight—some verbal [1], some affecting the vestments [2], and some the ceremonies [3].

For our present purpose we are not concerned with the many crucial doctrinal questions which are raised by the English Ordinal,

see below p. 116; but there seems no reason to doubt that Cranmer may have used the new Rite before it was expected or even before it was published.

[1] e.g. "So help me God, all Saints and the Holy Evangelist," Oath of Supremacy, 1549: the provision of an introit, &c.

[2] Alb, tunicle, &c., prescribed in 1549: surplices, copes, and pastoral staves for the bishops.

[3] The porrection of the chalice and paten to priests and of the pastoral staff to bishops, given up after 1549.

but only with the historical inquiry as to how far it was used, and what the status was of those who received Order in this form.

When we turn for information to the Episcopal Registers we are disappointed to find so little as there is.

With regard to Episcopal consecrations, Cranmer's Register gives the account of five bishops consecrated with the first edition of the Ordinal, viz. Ponet on June 29, 1550; Hooper on March 8, 155$\frac{9}{1}$; Coverdale and Scory on August 30, 1551; Taylor on June 26, 1552; and one bishop with the second edition, viz. Harley on May 26, 1553. This list is complete.

But with regard to ordination of priests and deacons the case is very different; it is evident that previous to the publication of the English Ordinal there had been in many dioceses great carelessness as to the record of ordinations, and even as to the ordinations themselves, with the Latin Pontifical: and though, (as we shall see) the new Ordinal brought with it a great improvement in both respects in the diocese of London, this improvement was not general; and on the whole the

evidence as to ordinations is meagre and disappointing.

It will be best to describe it in detail.

A. There are no ordinations at all recorded

(i) For Canterbury from Cranmer's accession to Pole's death, 1533–1558.

(ii) For Rochester from Heath's accession to Griffin's death, 1540–1558.

(iii) For Chichester from Sampson's accession (1536) to at least 1561.

(iv) For Bath and Wells in Bourne's Register (1554–1559), which is the only one of this period which survives.

(v) For Gloucester under Edward and Mary, and perhaps later.

(vi) For Worcester from the accession of Heath (1543) to the time of Sandys (1563).

(vii) For Peterborough from the beginning of the see (1541) to at least 1563.

(viii) For Norwich during the episcopates of Thirlby and Hopton (1550–1560).

That is to say, in the foregoing eight no trace of any ordination has been found at all in the Registers which had to be examined for the purpose of this period.

B. In the following Registers some few ordinations are recorded, but they only bear

indirectly on our present purpose, since they all occur before the period.

(i) For Winchester there is a record of six ordinations held in Gardiner's time, but the latest of them was in 1542. The whole list of persons then ordered only amounts to one acolyte, six sub-deacons, nine deacons, and eight priests.

The next record of an ordination is not till 1665.

(ii) For Salisbury there are ordinations recorded from 1535 to 1548, but they are very scanty: on March 20, 154$\frac{4}{5}$, one sub-deacon (from Gloucester) and one priest were ordained, and after that only two men at all—a vicar choral of the Cathedral (William Spence), ordained priest April 20, 1547, and a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Walter Bourne, ordained to all Orders in succession on May 26, 1548.

The next recorded ordinations are of the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; in 1560 altogether sixty-six deacons and sixty priests—a marked contrast!

(iii) For Lichfield there are two large Ordinations recorded in 1531 during a vacancy of the see, but no more within our period.

(iv) For Ely there are fifteen ordinations recorded between 1515 and 1520, but none later till Elizabeth's reign.

C. There remain only six sees whence immediate evidence is forthcoming, and even in these the records differ both in their nature and their importance.

(i) For London there are two sources of information: (*a*) in the early part of the Bonner Register there are recorded more than sixty ordinations between 1540 and 1548, held either by Hodgkin, Bishop of Bedford, or occasionally by Lewis Thomas, Bishop of Shrewsbury, or Thomas Chetham, Bishop of Sidon, and only once by Bonner himself. It is obvious that these were not all held at the Ember seasons: many were on successive days, and the candidates were hurried through the Orders very rapidly. The total number of persons ordained was, however, very small: one, two, or three is the usual number of candidates. Once the number rises to sixteen entries of Order conferred on nine several men (March 25, 1542), and once later to nine entries and eight candidates: the total number of candidates ordered is between sixty and seventy. Later on in the book

Ridley's ordinations are entered. But (*b*) there is a separate ordination book beginning with a still fuller account of Ridley's ordinations, and then continuing with Bonner's Marian ordinations [1], and later ones still of Grindal, &c. This book is of great importance for our inquiry. It is interesting to note the great care and fullness of the record of Ridley's Ordinations as contrasted with the slovenliness of those of Bonner's time which preceded. Here, at any rate, the English Ordinal evidently brought with it a higher sense of the dignity of Holy Orders [2] and greater care in the examination and choice of candidates.

(ii) For Exeter, in the early part of Voysey's long episcopate, there are full and long records of ordinations held by the diocesan and by the Bishops Thomas Chard of Selymbria (Solubriensis), Thomas Vivian of Megara, and William Fawell of Hippo: but these come to an end in 1544. They begin again at Coverdale's intrusion, and run from 1551 to 1553: then at Voysey's restoration there are ordinations recorded only in 1553 and 1554.

[1] Held by himself, by the Bishops of Bangor and Sidon, by Bird, late Bishop of Chester, and by several Irish bishops.

[2] See Appendix XII.

(iii) For Oxford the records are very complete: there are sixty-two recorded ordinations, ranging regularly from 1540 to 1558. The earlier ones were held by the diocesan (King) or the suffragan bishop, Lewis Thomas of Shrewsbury; but at the end of 1554 the Bishop of Sidon held the Advent ordination, and subsequently they were held, first by Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, till August 30, 1556, and then from September, 1556, to April, 1558, by Holyman, Bishop of Bristol, who seems to have lived at Hanborough and held most of the ordinations there: the last five were held by him after King's death *Sede Vacante.*

The ordination lists are not only complete and numerous, but often very large: entries of forty or fifty names are not at all uncommon in the Marian lists, but the Edwardine lists do not rise above ten. In completeness, if not in general interest, these records even surpass those of London.

(iv) For York there is only a casual and perhaps incomplete record of some Edwardine ordinations jotted down on an odd page in the Vicar-General's book; the Registers of Holgate and Heath contain no records of

ordinations from 1545 to 1559: they begin with Young in 1561 [1].

(v) For Durham there is a series of records which is probably complete, though there are two long intervals in the middle. Tonstall's ordinations begin from 1532, in which year five are recorded; five are recorded in 1533, six in 1534, and three in 1535. Next, in 1541, Thomas Sparke, Bishop of Berwick, appears in his place, and a series of eleven ordinations is recorded, closing on June 4, 1547. After another gap the Bishop of Berwick resumed in Lent, 1555, and a new series of ordinations is recorded, held partly by him and partly by Tonstall, which does not close till May 29, 1559, when one acolyte, one sub-deacon, three deacons, and three priests were ordered. The lists are not long at any time after 1535: the usual number of entries is from five to ten.

(vi) For Chester there is a separate ordination book, which began at the inception of the

[1] The ordination of the Vicar-General, Dr. John Rookbie, is recorded at the opening of the book. He was ordained by the Bishop of Hull sub-deacon and deacon on July 30, and priest on Aug. 5, 1547, at the Lady altar of the Cathedral Church. (*Institution Book*, f. 1.)

see, but has lost one or two pages, and now opens in the middle of the Easter ordination, 1542: one or two earlier lists have therefore perished, but otherwise the series runs on fairly uniformly with very long lists till March 26, 1547, when twenty-one acolytes, twenty-one sub-deacons, nineteen deacons, and eleven priests were ordered. Then comes a sudden change: an entry of merely nine deacons without heading or date; next a blank page; next, Dec. 17, 1547, merely two deacons and three priests.

On the following page we find ourselves at March 30, 1555, with Bishop Cotes holding the ordination; but there has been no gap in the book, and one of the deacons of Advent, 1547, is ordained priest: the series, though interrupted, is not incomplete; it continues with two further ordinations in 1555[1], four in 1557, and five in 1558. The Elizabethan ordinations begin a second volume[2].

Now, when we review the evidence available from Registers it is disappointingly scanty. It

[1] The see was vacant from Cotes' death in 1555 to Scott's consecration in the autumn of 1556.

[2] These records will shortly be printed by the Cheshire Record Society.

is clear that to some considerable extent records have perished: to quote one instance—it is certain that there were ordinations in the diocese of Lincoln at the end of Edward's reign, for George Marsh, who was ordained deacon by Ridley on May 15, 1552, was ordained priest by Taylor of Lincoln [1]; but all the Lincoln Records of this date are gone, and so the lists are not available. Further, it is likely that elsewhere, even when the Bishop's Registers have been preserved [2], the Ordination Records have been lost; they were kept in a separate book or on a separate quire of parchment, and though in many cases this quire was subsequently bound up with the rest as part of the Register, in other cases it was not. At York this was probably the case (see above), and perhaps also the Marian ordinations of Bonner ought to have been bound up in duplicate in the Register as

[1] Foxe, vii. 41.

[2] For the diocese of Canterbury in this respect see note on Cranmer's ordinations above, p. 88. Pole issued a commission on May 24, 1558, to Maurice, Bishop of Rochester, to ordain for him (*Register*, f. 30). But no trace of any such ordinations has so far been forthcoming, nor of the Norwich ordinations (see p. 194), nor of the Edwardine ordinations of Thornden, Bishop of Dover. See below, p. 151.

Ridley's are. It is impossible to say how much has perished through various causes—loss of all records, loss of ordination books, loss of ordination quires—to say nothing of the carelessness in omitting to record ordinations at all. We have an instance of such careless omission actually recorded in Ridley's model ordination book [1]; but if the general conduct of business in Ridley's ordinations had not been most methodical no registrar would have thought of spoiling the credit of his own office by recording that the entries were incomplete: elsewhere the same incompleteness would pass unrecorded.

But there are various circumstances which go to prove that the loss has not been as great as at first one might be tempted to conjecture. It is quite clear that before the introduction of the English Ordinal the number of ordinations and candidates had been reduced enormously; in some places this was largely due to disapproval of the new ways. Both at Chester and at Durham the ordinations came to a dead stop in 1547 [2], and were not

[1] See Appendix XII.

[2] The York ordinations of 1547 recorded above are also the last ones that can be traced before 1551.

resumed till the Marian regime; moreover, we observe that at the former no minor orders were conferred at the two closing ordinations: it is quite possible that this was fortuitous [1], but it seems also possible that coming events had cast their shadow before, and Bishop Bird, who favoured the new ideas, anticipated what was coming, but found no support.

At Durham the bishop would probably abstain from ordaining from want of sympathy with the new developments, and it may be fairly surmised that in other cases where we have no such obvious data the same cause was operative.

In other cases the decay in the ordinations seems to have been more gradual and less pointed, as, for example, the cases given above as Group B.

But owing to both causes it seems as though in a good number of dioceses ordinations were not being held [2].

This conclusion is reinforced by another

[1] It had occurred also at Chester in December, 1546.

[2] This was all the more possible because of the number of priests who, through the suppression of the monasteries and chantries, were free to serve vacant cures.

consideration, viz. the large number of candidates ordained under letters dimissory, as the extant lists testify.

In the closing days before the new Ordinal candidates came to Chester—from York, 1; Lichfield, 5; St. Asaph, 2; Carlisle, 1; Bangor, 1, for the one ordination on March 25, 1547. For the preceding September—from York, 1; Lichfield, 3; Carlisle, 2. And for April 10, 1546—Lichfield, 2; St. Asaph, 2.

Similarly, of the sixty or seventy clergy ordained in London 1540–1548, varying numbers came from York, Exeter, Carlisle, Lincoln, Salisbury, Hereford, Westminster, Winchester, Canterbury, Chester, Ely, Norwich, Lichfield, Peterborough, and Worcester. No less than 7 came from Lincoln, 11 from Carlisle, 17 from York.

If we turn to the era of the English Ordinal 1550–1553, the same is the case. Candidates came to Ridley from Winchester, Norwich, Rochester, Canterbury, Chichester, Lichfield, Bath and Wells, and Llandaff, to say nothing of the number of fellows and scholars of Cambridge colleges who flocked up to London to his ordinations[1].

[1] There is generally no mention either of letters

And, again, in the third period with which we have to deal, namely the Marian period, the same fact is noticeable. In London there were candidates ordained hailing from York, Chester, Exeter, St. Asaph, St. David's, Bangor, Llandaff, Lichfield, Lincoln, Canterbury, Chichester, Norwich, Peterborough, Bath and Wells, Gloucester, Worcester, Salisbury, Rochester, and even Meath, besides the large numbers of fellows and scholars from colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. In the ordinations at Oxford during the period again the same thing. All this leads clearly to one conclusion, viz. that in the middle of the sixteenth century ordination went on only at a few centres in England; and if further confirmation of this is needed it is forthcoming. We may notice by comparison of ordination lists how they dovetail into one another; especially this is the case in the third period. The main centres of ordination then were Oxford and London, and

dimissory or of the title in Ridley's record, so it is sometimes difficult to describe to what diocese a candidate really belongs: see the list in the Appendix. Also here, as in the earlier days, it is not always possible to distinguish whether the diocese is mentioned as that of the candidate's birthplace or that for which he is ordained.

it would not be difficult to pick out from the list of Marian ordinands given below between twenty and thirty names of men who received part of their Orders in one of these places and part in the other.

While, then, the deficiency of evidence is to be regretted, it must at the same time be remembered that not so much has perished as might hastily be supposed at first sight, and there seems no reason to doubt that the available evidence, though incomplete, may give nevertheless a very fairly representative picture of the state of the case with regard to ordinations in the period under discussion.

We must now address ourselves more closely to the actual period itself, 1550–1560.

The first point to seize upon is the appearance of the English Ordinal in March, $15\frac{49}{50}$. It was in use in at least six dioceses[1]; in London and Exeter this was a new departure, for there had been no ordinations there since the years 1548 and 1544 respectively. At Oxford it took the place of the Latin Pontifical with barely a

[1] The details of four are given in Appendix XII, and for Norwich see p. 194, for Lincoln see p. 98.

year's interval[1]. At York there had probably been an interval of over four years.

Oxford led the way[2] on March 22, $15\frac{4}{5}\frac{9}{0}$; London followed on June 23, 1550; York began (so far as our evidence serves) on July 26, 1551, and Exeter not until December 20, 1551. With regard to the latter it must be remembered that Bishop Voysey was forced to resign, and Coverdale consecrated to take his place in August, 1551.

In London seventeen ordinations are recorded in the period of two years and a half: of these, thirteen were according to the first Ordinal, and three according to the revised Ordinal of 1552. Most of them were held by Ridley either in St. Paul's Cathedral "before the high altar," or at Fulham in the chapel of the palace or in the parish church; but he held also an ordination in the chapel of Pembroke College, Cambridge, "by the special leave and at the request" of Goodrich, Bishop of Ely[3]. Also three of the seventeen ordina-

[1] The last ordination had been on April 20, 1549.

[2] Cranmer's ordination, recorded by Foxe and Strype (see above, p. 88, *note*), was perhaps before this, though probably not so early as 1549.

[3] See Appendix XII. The leave and request of

tions were held by other bishops in London, two by Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, and one by Coverdale, of Exeter. Altogether seventy-six men were ordained either to the diaconate or the priesthood, or both.

At Oxford six ordinations were held either by the diocesan (King) or Lewis Thomas, suffragan Bishop of Shrewsbury, all with the first English Ordinal, and twelve men were ordained.

At Exeter, Bishop Coverdale held six ordinations, the last of which only was with the second Ordinal, and ten men were ordained.

At York there are seven ordinations recorded by Pursglove, Bishop of Hull; the last occasion was after the appearance of the second Ordinal; there were altogether twelve men ordained.

Putting all these together, we arrive at a list of six bishops and 110 other clergy who are the only ones that so far can be discovered from the Registers to have received Orders under the English Ordinal. Most of them (seventy-one) seem to have been admitted deacons only, but thirty-two proceeded to the

Goodrich are especially to be noted. Pembroke was Ridley's own college.

priesthood. There are also six names of men ordained to the priesthood of whose diaconate nothing is known [1].

We have to inquire as closely as possible into the subsequent history of these 116 men to see in general what befell them, and especially in what light their Orders and status were regarded under Mary. The ordination lists are printed in full in the Appendix with biographical notices, so far as facts have been ascertained; so what is necessary here is to draw general conclusions from the data there given.

In the first place, it is clear that a large number went into exile at Mary's accession and remained abroad till after her death; for example, Lever and a fair number of the twenty-four fellows of St. John's College, Cambridge, who were ejected at the beginning of Mary's reign, were among those ordained by Ridley, and many of these were in exile.

[1] The men are Turner, Escure, and Dawkins, in London, Bedyng at Exeter, Denman and Batson at York. Two Oxford priests (Taynter and Rawlins) are reckoned in the other category, for though there is no record of their diaconate forthcoming, it is clear from their subsequent history that it was conferred under the English Ordinal: see below, pp. 211, 212.

Other names are found also, e. g. Bishops Ponet and Coverdale, on the lists of the English Reform leaders abroad, and in all probability many more fled than it is now possible to trace. Bishops Taylor and Harley died within the year, and were hardly if at all out of prison. Bishop Coverdale, after two years' imprisonment, fled to Denmark, and was there and at Geneva till Elizabeth's accession. Bishop Ponet died abroad, August 11, 1556. Of the other two bishops, we shall have to speak later.

Next, it is to be noticed that some of these clergy ordained under the English Ordinal (who for convenience sake may be called Edwardine clergy) were among those deprived in the early months of $155\frac{3}{4}$. Two, viz. Richard Gresham or Grason and Thurstan Awood, were definitely deprived for being married. Richard Fletcher was deprived of Stortford on the same ground, but voided Ugley by "resignation" some time before April 18, 1554; and there seems a similar inconsistency in the case of Lancelot Thexton, who was deprived of Birch Magna, but "resigned" Anmer before June 20, 1554. These two cases seem to show that the resignation

was not always so "spontaneous and free" as it professed to be. Several others seized the opportunity to resign in the early days of Queen Mary — Veron, the celebrated French preacher, Harman, and Fawkener: the latter vacancy was not filled up till July, 1554, but it is impossible to say how long Fawkener held his benefice, and it would be risky to build anything on either his retention, or his "free and spontaneous resignation" of it. Turner was deprived of the Deanery of Wells, or at least vacated it by flight; there is no record of a process against him, but Goodman took his place early in Mary's reign; he was reinstated in 1560.

We complete the list of Edwardine clergy who were deprived by the names of Lawrence Nowell and Thomas Ashton[1]; they were ejected from Drayton Bassett and Shawbury respectively, in the diocese of Lichfield[2], for not having proceeded to priest's orders in the first year of their incumbency, or, in technical lan-

[1] The cases of William Clerke and William Deman or Denman seem hardly clear enough to warrant their inclusion in the list (pp. 196, 217). Nowell was also deprived of Harting, diocese of Chichester. No cause is assigned

[2] This was the normal requirement of the canon law

guage, *Pro eo quod . . . nuper rector eiusdem ecclesie a fine anni a die adepte possessionis dicte ecclesie parochialis se in sacerdotium promoveri distulit et neglexit.*

Reasons have already been given to show that the general cause of deprivation was marriage, and in the cases where no cause is assigned, it is natural to suppose that it was this. At any rate, there is no shadow of a hint that invalidity of Orders had anything to do with it. On the contrary, in the cases of Nowell and Ashton, the deacon's Order conferred under the English Ordinal is clearly if tacitly recognized. Indeed, if the Edwardine Orders had been regarded as an absolute disqualification, it would have been far simpler to get rid of Edwardine clergy on that ground, rather than on the ground of marriage[1]. But all the evidence

in cases where a deacon was appointed to a cure of souls. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, iii. 4 *Cum hostis*.

[1] It was necessary to establish the question as to Orders *before* the question of marriage could come up; naturally, therefore, the articles ministered to clergy always begin by eliciting the facts about their ordination, then they went on to inquire as to marriage. It would clearly have been simpler and more expeditious to deprive Edwardine clergy on the first ground had it been

so far goes to show that they were not so regarded; on the contrary, the very fact that an Edwardine priest was deprived for marriage shows that so far his Orders were recognized, otherwise he would have been deprived as a layman, and there is no instance of any Edwardine clergy being so described at their deprivation; they are classed with the rest of the married clergy [1].

So that in this part of the inquiry both positive and negative evidence leads to the conclusion that the Edwardine Orders were recognized; further inquiries will partly modify, but partly confirm, that conclusion.

We next have to trace the fortune of some Edwardine clergy who were put to death for religion under Mary. They were three—Bishop Hooper, John Bradford, and George Marsh. The bishop was deprived in March, $155\frac{3}{4}$, on the ground of his marriage *et alia*

regarded as a valid ground for deprivation; there is no evidence of any such thing being done, and the conclusion is obvious, that Edwardine Orders were not considered a valid ground for deprivation. See further on this subject below.

[1] Estcourt is therefore entirely mistaken in saying that Edwardine clergy "were looked upon to all intents and purposes as mere laymen" (p. 51).

male merita, and his defective title[1]; in January following he was excommunicated for heresy on three points—priest's marriage, divorce for adultery, and the real presence—by Bishop Gardiner[2], and in the following days he was degraded and burnt[3]. It is to be noted that he was treated throughout both by Gardiner and Bonner as a priest, and not as a bishop[4].

[1] See above, p. 26, and Appendix II.

[2] See the sentence in Strype's *Catalogue of Originals*, xxviii; III. ii. 276, from Harl. MS. 421, f. 49.

[3] Foxe, vi. 636 and ff.

[4] Ferrar also was treated as a priest, not as a bishop, though he was consecrated on Sept. 9, 1548, long before the appearance of the Edwardine Ordinal. There is no real ground for any doubt as to whether the old form of the Latin Pontifical was used at his consecration; it has been argued that there was here, as elsewhere, some anticipation of the coming changes in the rite, which would account for his being treated by his judges in an exceptional way, and classed with Edwardine bishops, such as Hooper, not Pontifical bishops, such as Ridley; but Cranmer's Register gives no justification for such a doubt or argument. This is only one of the many inconsistencies which we meet in the attitude of the Marian bishops towards the Reformers and their orders. See Estcourt, p. 54 and ff., to whom it is enough to reply (i) that the only changes mentioned are in the Mass, not the Consecration; (ii) as to the suggestion (based on the words *qua peracta*) that the consecration was completed before the beginning of Mass, it is enough to refer to the

John Bradford got into trouble in consequence of the disturbance at Bourne's sermon at Paul's Cross on August 13, 1553, though he played the part of a peacemaker and protected Bourne from an angry mob. In spite of this, in the following week he and Veron were sent to the Tower, and no doubt were in fact deprived of their prebends, though in Bradford's case there is no mention of the cause of vacancy in the appointment of his successors as entered in the bishop's register, and in Veron's case it is called "resignation." The charge against Bradford was sedition, on account of the part which he played at Paul's Cross. This was an ingenious way of getting rid of a man who was not married, and who was one of the most powerful and most attractive of the figures on the reform side from the blending in his character of gentleness with great firmness. In later stages of the inquiry there were added the usual charges of heresy; finally, after an imprisonment of nearly two years, he was burnt at Smithfield, July 1, 1555.

In the sentence of his excommunication

Sarum Pontifical, where the first rubric of the service speaks in a similar loose way. Maskell, *Monumenta*, ii. 257.

Bradford was styled *laicus*[1], and the description seemed wrong to Gardiner, for he stopped and said, "Why? art thou no priest?" Bradford's reply is somewhat confusing at first sight:—"No, nor ever was either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher afore public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion." His meaning was that he refused to be classed with those who had been ordered in the unreformed days; moreover, he had, as a matter of fact, since the reform proceeded only to the diaconate apparently, and could not claim to be a priest at all. But although Gardiner was prepared to recognize his Orders, there is no evidence that Bonner degraded him, though four days after the sentence of excommunication he came to the Compter, where Bradford lay, to degrade Rowland Taylor, and there was ample opportunity during the five months which intervened before he was executed if it had been thought right.

The third case is that of George Marsh, who gave himself up to his pursuers in Lancashire, in March, 1555, and was burnt

[1] Harl. MS. 421, ff. 42 and ff.; Foxe, vii. 165.

at Chester on April 24 following[1]. The charge against him, both before the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Chester, was one of heretical preaching and tenets. He has left behind an account of some of his examinations, mainly on the question of heresy, but containing a curious passage as to his Orders:—

"The earl asked me whether I was a priest. I said no. Then he asked me what had been my living. I answered, I was a minister[2],

[1] Foxe, vii. 39 and ff.

[2] This distinction between the terms priest and minister occurs constantly, but it is merely a question of terms, and is no evidence either for or against the validity of Orders. The bishop here very properly took no notice of it, but others were not so wise, and the false distinction was often drawn, both by reforming clergy who wished to evade the discredited title of priest, and by Marian clergy, and even bishops, who wished to refuse it to them; but the whole thing was merely a question of terms. Marsh was none the less a priest, though he himself on the one side preferred to take the title of minister, and, on the other hand, Bonner, for example, might have preferred to give it him. Estcourt falls into the trap, and tries to establish the distinction and draw conclusions from it (pp. 49 and ff.); but they fail just because the term minister was one adopted by both parties as a middle term for a person who was not lay, but whether ordained by the Latin Pontifical, or by the Edwardine Ordinal, objected to the title priest. It does

served a cure and taught a school. Then said my Lord to his council, This is a wonderful thing: afore he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one. I answered, By the laws now used in this realm, as far as I do know, I am none. Then they asked me who gave me Orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered, I received Orders of the Bishops of London and Lincoln. Then said they one to another, Those be of these new heretics. . . . They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God: and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me I would have ministered still, and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort I would minister again."

Marsh evidently was convinced that it was

not therefore imply in the mouth of either party any estimate, favourable or unfavourable, of the value or validity of their Order. It was used, e.g., by James Pilkington of himself, though (*pace* Estcourt, p. 134) he was ordained deacon at least under the Latin Pontifical (below, p. 185), and his constant use of the word is very instructive: see Baker, *History of St. John's*, ii. 149, 333; Pilkington, *Exposition of Aggeus*. Some Anglican clergy still mislike the appellation priest, and prefer something else; but this does not imply that they have not received priests' orders.

illegal for him still to minister. He does not hint that his Orders were a disqualification, nor does this seem to occur to his judges: the difficulty was probably the same as Bradford and many others felt, viz., that having taken the oaths formerly against the Papal jurisdiction they could not now accept it, and were therefore excluded from legal ministering. He therefore refused the title priest, because according to civil law he could not be recognized as one: though he was willing enough to claim that he had received priest's orders from the Bishop of Lincoln, and this his judges seem to have recognized: they regarded the position an *heretical* one, and this was the point which they had before them.

There remains one obscure case of a similar character to be considered. We are told on the authority of Foxe and Strype that Robert Drakes, parson of Thundersley, who was burnt at Smithfield in April, 1556, "was made Deacon by Dr. Taylor of Hadley at the commandment of Dr. Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury: and within one year after (which was the third year after King Edward) he was by the said archbishop and Dr. Ridley, Bishop of London, admitted

minister of God's holy word and sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after such order as was afterwards established[1]." There is reason to mistrust in some ways the accuracy of the evidence from which clearly both Foxe and Strype draw their account[2]: but there is no reason to doubt that Drakes was in Edwardine orders: he was deprived of his vicarage on the ground of his marriage[3] in 1554: for two years his history is obscure, and then, early in 1556, he was imprisoned, condemned for heresy, and burnt. Foxe does not mention whether either he or William Tyms, deacon, who suffered with him, was degraded[4].

We come now to the case of the clergy who

[1] Foxe, viii. 106; and cp. Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 273.

[2] See note on p. 88, and note on p. 104.

[3] Bonner's Register, f. 453.

[4] If the account is to be trusted, it seems probable that Cranmer in this case did an unusual but not unparalleled act: but it is possible that the term deacon is applied to Drakes, before his ordination, only in the same way that it was applied to Cuthbert Symson, tailor and deacon "of the secret society and holy congregation of God's children"; what this implied in Symson's case is clear, for he kept the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation, and with another deacon gathered their alms for the poor prisoners; but he was quite distinct from their "minister." See Foxe, viii. 443-460.

conformed to the Marian reaction. It is clear from a comparison of the Edwardine and Marian ordination lists, in all the three dioceses in which both are extant, viz. London, Oxford, and Exeter, that a certain number of Edwardine clergy presented themselves to the Marian bishops for ordination by the old Latin rite[1]. At Oxford there are certainly three and probably four cases, at Exeter two, and in London certainly nine, and possibly ten cases[2].

In most cases the second ordination took place in the same diocese as the first, but from Exeter John Grose went up to London for his diaconate and priesthood after receiving the other orders at Exeter, and there came also to

[1] It has hitherto generally been denied that there were such cases: this denial rested on a too hasty examination of the Registers, and was in contradiction to other evidence, such as Parkhurst's Visitation inquiry in 1561, as to whether there were men in the diocese who had been twice ordered, or Harding's admission. See below, p. 119, and Estcourt, p. 50.

[2] There is some doubt about the identification of Richard Benet at Oxford, and William Taylor at London. See the lists printed below, Appendix XII, and especially the Oxford section, where one of the Marian ordination lists is printed along with the Edwardine lists, showing in two cases the same names in both an Edwardine and a Marian list. This is typical of all the other cases.

London three men from York and one from Oxford.

At Oxford, Benet and Addison actually received both sets of orders from the same bishop, viz. the Bishop of Shrewsbury; and both he and the Bishop of Oxford used the Edwardine Ordinal and then reverted to the Latin Pontifical. Elsewhere there was a marked gulf, Bonner superseding Ridley at London, and Voysey Coverdale at Exeter. In addition to the names recorded in the Registers, notice must be taken of the case of Harding the controversialist, who, as he admitted, was an Edwardine deacon[1], and of Jewell, his great opponent, who had Edwardine Orders; but the record of the ordination is not forthcoming for either. Harding was also ordained acolyte and sub-deacon at Oxford, May 19, 1554, and priest in London on the following June 3, that is, a fortnight later. No record is forthcoming of any repetition of his deacon's orders, so it is possible that they were recognized, but the minor orders supplied with any supposed deficiencies in the Edwardine Orders. Harding said that he took himself not "for a lawful deacon in all respects": but therefore pre-

[1] Harding, *Detection*, 229, quoted in Estcourt, p. 120.

sumably in *some*. Such a method of dealing with Edwardine Orders was probably contemplated in Julius III's Brief of Faculties, as we shall see.

But more commonly the second orders seem to have been conferred without any reference to the first. No mention is made of Edwardine Orders, and the names of the Edwardines merely appear in the Marian lists without anything to call attention to them or to distinguish them from others who presumably were receiving Orders for the first time. On the other hand, it is natural to find that due regard was paid to Orders conferred under the old Latin Pontifical; thus, for example, Christopher Rawlins, who had been ordained sub-deacon on April 6, 1549, and subsequently received Edwardine Orders, was promoted afresh to the diaconate in Mary's reign at once on May 19, 1554, and subsequently to the priesthood[1]; while at Exeter, John Grose, who had evidently received none but Edwardine Orders, began

[1] The case is specially noteworthy because (1) there is no record of the Edwardine diaconate, (2) the record of the Edwardine priesthood is lightly crossed through in the Register.

with first tonsure, the minor orders, and the sub-diaconate on May 16 and 19, 1554, before he was promoted afresh to the diaconate and priesthood. Both cases are typical: six or seven of the sixteen men under consideration had not received minor orders, the rest presumably had, and two of them apparently were, like Rawlins, already sub-deacons.

From all this it is clear that the second ordination was in most cases not a supplying of any supposed defects in the first, but a real reordination implying an entire disbelief on the part of some one in the validity of the Edwardine Order[1].

[1] One further name must be mentioned in connexion with reordination. It is well known that Alexander Nowell, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, was ejected from Mary's first Parliament because he was a Prebendary of Westminster and in Orders; now an Alexander Nowell was ordained acolyte at Chester, Easter 1555, and sub-deacon in London in March, $155\frac{7}{8}$; deacon and priest in March and April, 1558; this implies that either (1) the Prebendary's Orders were Edwardine, but recognized as valid by Parliament though the bishop went behind them: or (2) that he was only exorcist till then, which seems improbable considering the positions which he had held: or (3) that there were two men of the name. This last seems perhaps the most probable; Wood found great inconsistencies in the dates connected with Nowell's life, and this may have been due also to a confusion between

But this conclusion only raises further questions. What did the disbelief amount to, and where did it rest? Was it a passing phase in the panic of reaction or a piece of settled policy? Was it a private scruple in the minds of some Edwardine clergy[1], or a clearly formulated decision of the authorities[2]? Evidence seems rather to point to the former alternative in each case. There are three considerations which render it probable that the reordination represents neither a formal nor a permanent view of the situation.

In the first place, it was a view which was in direct contradiction with the view which governed the policy pursued as to deprivations, where, as we have seen, the Edwardine Orders were implicitly recognized.

In the second place, the dates of the reordinations are remarkable. Nearly all of

two different men. Dixon, iv. 57; Wood, *Hist. Colleges and Halls*, 360; *D.N.B.*

[1] Such a private scruple could be used to force even a reluctant bishop to repeat the orders: an Edwardine who wished to curry favour with the Marian party had only to say that his former orders were invalidated by a want of intention in himself, and the bishop would have no option but to repeat them.

[2] The authorities pass over the whole in silence. Appendix XVII.

them belong to the first year of Mary, or, to be more accurate, they fall (in their initial stages) in the six months between December, 1553, and May, 1554. The exceptions are two—James Clayton, who was ordained sub-deacon in December, 1554, and Thomas Degge, who was ordained deacon in March, $155\frac{7}{8}$, if indeed he is the same as the Edwardine deacon of May, 1552, which is probable but not certain [1].

The policy of reordination seems thus to have flourished mainly for six months or a year, and then to have disappeared almost entirely: it was confined to the dioceses of the old line of bishops, Bonner and Voysey, who had been deprived, and the aged Bishop King: none of Mary's new appointments had any share in it; it was mainly over when they came into their sees.

It is obvious to reply that this is only to be expected, since those who were going to conform would have come forward by then,

[1] It is not known when they received their earlier orders; if the records were forthcoming they might very likely show that these two men were not really exceptional, but began their second reception of orders simultaneously with the rest. Clayton, however, was ordained to the title of a pension from Henry VIII of 3*s.* 4*d.*

and after the first year very few cases, if any, would be expected.

That reply is effective only if it can be proved that there were no more Edwardine clergy left in possession who had not submitted to reordination: this, however, cannot be proved: in fact, the opposite is demonstrably the case.

This brings us to our third consideration.

The evidence hitherto available shows us a certain number of Edwardine clergy left in possession of their benefices but not reordained.

In the diocese of Bath and Wells, William Butcher was appointed Rector of West Harptree in 1553: the exact date is uncertain since Barlow's Register is lost: he resigned the benefice, and his successor was instituted on February 3, 1569: this seems clearly to show that he remained in possession through Mary's reign, especially as his name does not occur among the clergy whose deprivation is recorded in Bourne's Register.

In the diocese of Exeter, Henry Bedyng was appointed to Exbourne on March 19, 1552, and was not deprived in Mary's reign.

In the diocese of York, George Ellison was

appointed to Burnsall on September 25, 1551, and held it till his death in 1557: his successor was appointed on June 21 [1].

In the same diocese, Matthew Watson was instituted to Helmsley on January 30, 155½, and there is no evidence forthcoming of his deprivation or voiding the benefice during Mary's reign: in view of the gaps and deficiencies in the York records this is not very conclusive, but it is, so far as it goes, good confirmatory evidence.

In the diocese of Canterbury, Thomas Warter was appointed to the Vicarage of Rodmersham on May 19, 1553: there is no sign of his deprivation, but he did not hold it for long, since his successor was dead before March 17, 155⅞. A clearer case is that of Edward Burnell, who was Vicar of Meopham

[1] See Register of Holgate and Heath. He was also appointed to Arncliffe, Oct. 19, 1552; a pension of six marks was paid from the tithes and fruits of the Vicarage to Thomas Stapper, who was ordained priest in London, March 30, 1555. Stapper had received minor orders and the sub-diaconate at Oxford, Dec. 22, 1554, and the diaconate at Oxford on March 9 following, and there he is only described as (Student) of Merton College: the meaning of this arrangement is not very clear, but there is no evidence so far to show that Ellison had ceased to hold the Vicarage.

from October 2, 1550, till his resignation some time before February 4, $155\frac{5}{6}$.

We have thus six cases known of Edwardine clergy who remained in possession without reordination.

But there is stronger evidence than this that Edwardine Orders were not held to be insufficient for the holding of a benefice with cure of souls. In the diocese of London Edmund Thompson was instituted to South Mimms on March 31, $155\frac{8}{9}$, that is to say, by Bonner himself: for Bonner's refusal of the oath and imprisonment in the Marshalsea was not till the May 30 following: the Register also itself makes the fact additionally clear: it clearly draws the line when Bonner ceased to be responsible for institutions, and at May 6, 1559, it expressly states that from that date up till December 8, the institutions were by Commissioners.

It is quite possible in view of this clear case that other cases in the diocese of London which are less clear may yet be after all satisfactory; William Clerke, who was instituted to Rickling on March 12, 1556, may be the Edwardine priest: and William Boyes, the Edwardine deacon, may be the same as

William Boyce, instituted to Messing on September 7, 1554. But if these cases are not conclusive there seems little doubt about Dr. Walter Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford, who certainly found his Edwardine Orders no bar to preferment or occupation in Queen Mary's reign. This notorious turncoat not merely continued to hold his benefices, but was collated to a canonry of Exeter on July 31, 1554; and was appointed by Gardiner, and subsequently by Pole, to visit the University of Oxford [1].

It is no doubt possible that these men, like Kynsey, Taynter, and others, were reordained before they were instituted: but such a view would be pure surmise backed by no evidence: on the contrary, it is not a little remarkable that most of these cases occur in dioceses where the records are fullest, viz. London, Exeter, and Oxford, and where we could fairly count (1) on their seeking reordination if they sought it at all; and (2) on finding a record of it, if it took place. Further, with regard to the two Yorkshiremen, we should expect to find them reordained in London, if at all, where their fellow-countrymen and former fellow-

[1] Collier, vi. 23; Strype, *Ann.* I. i. 382.

candidates—Askham, Cowl, and Thompson—came to be reordained.

There only remain therefore the three cases of Butcher at Bath and Wells, Burnell and Warter at Canterbury, about whom there can be said to be, in the present state of evidence, the slightest ground for suggesting that they actually were reordained, but that the record of their reordination has perished: and even in these cases we should expect to find their second ordination, like their first, to have taken place in London if at all, for Canterbury was vacant during the whole time, and Bath and Wells during the greater part of the time during which reordinations were going on. In fact, when we consider what opportunities there were of getting reordained, they were not very many: during this period in about half the dioceses there was no bishop at all to reordain. It is evident then that the existing records of Marian ordinations during the period of reordination cannot be considered very deficient, and therefore it is very unsafe to build much upon the supposition that more records of reordination once existed but have now perished.

Now when these three considerations are

fairly weighed, they have an important bearing upon the nature of the explanation which must be given of the phenomenon of reordination. Without being conclusive, they seem at least to point to the explanation that the reordination was a passing phase, and perhaps merely due to individual scruples. Whether this is so or not, it seems clear that those who held back from presenting themselves for reordination were not obliged to come forward: and the submission of some to a second ordination makes the triumphant refusal of others so to submit only all the more marked and the more significant.

When we ask ourselves the question, what then on the whole was the first Marian judgement about Edwardine Orders, it is difficult to give a satisfactory answer. Perhaps the truest answer to make is, that at first there was no judgement arrived at on the question at all. There are great inconsistencies of attitude and policy—no settled view.

With regard to the bishops, "nullity of consecration" was alleged against Bishop Taylor, but not against Bishops Hooper and Harley, who were in exactly the same position. The nullity of consecration possibly only

meant a flaw in the right to exercise his office (*quoad exercitium*), not in the order itself[1]; but even so, there is the inconsistency. Again, Bishop Hooper was treated as no bishop by his judges, but so also was Bishop Ferrar, who was not an Edwardine, and probably Bishop Ridley also. On the other hand, Bishop Scory, who was an Edwardine, was restored by Bonner as "Our beloved confrere John, late Bishop of Chichester . . . to the public performance and execution of his ecclesiastical ministry and pastoral office." This can hardly be anything less than a recognition of Scory as a bishop, and probably carries with it a restoration to episcopal, not merely presbyteral, functions. It is in sharp contrast both with the treatment of Hooper and with Pole's treatment of Bishops Hodgkin and Holgate at a later stage in the history[2].

The same inconsistency marks the treatment of the other clergy. Bishop Voysey was at the same moment (1) depriving some Edwardines as married priests, (2) reordaining others

[1] See *De Hierarchia*, §§ 216, 230, 242.

[2] See below, p. 146. The document of Scory's rehabilitation is in Burnet and *De Hierarchia*, p. 149. It is well discussed by Boudinhon, *Validité*, p. 71.

on the ground that they were no priests, (3) leaving at least one in possession of his benefices, presumably because he had no cause to disturb him for invalidity of Orders, (4) actually collating another to a prebend in his cathedral church.

Here is inconsistency enough in practice! but it is not all; for there were cases where Edwardines were merely sent for, and supposed deficiencies in their Orders supplied. The queen had recommended this policy in her injunctions of March 4, 1559—the only attempt to deal directly with the Edwardines—

"15. Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders after the new sort and fashion of orders, considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men may supply that thing which wanted in them before and then according to his discretion admit them to minister."

It is clear that the recommendation was acted on, though there is no sign of it in the Registers. In some cases possibly (e.g. Harding's) minor orders were supplied; but in others there was probably only a small and insignificant ceremony, not worth recording in

the records, but considered desirable then because of the (erroneous) views held by a considerable party of theologians as to what are the essentials of Order.

The contemporary evidence of Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham, proves clearly the fact that there was a move for supplying supposed defects in Edwardine Orders, and also gives a ludicrous and contemptuous account of it, which perhaps must not be taken too literally. Speaking in his commentary on Haggai of the use of oil, he says—

"They would have us believe that the oil hath such holiness in it that whoever lacketh it is no priest nor minister. Therefore in the late days of Popery our holy bishops called before them all such as were made ministers without such greasing, and blessed them with the pope's blessing, anointed them, and then all was perfect: they might sacrifice for quick and dead [1]."

[1] Pilkington, *Exposition of Aggeus*, Cap. II. v. 10: Parker Society, p. 163, quoted in Mayor's edition of Baker's *History of St. John's*, and in *De Hierarch. Supplementum*, p. 13. This shows one of the erroneous views which led some of the Marians to dispute the Edwardine Orders. Bonner, on the other hand, laid the stress of his objection not on the oil, but on the words giving authority to offer sacrifice (*Accipe potestatem*, &c.), which equally are non-essential.

The policy here alluded to is in itself that which would probably be most readily accepted, though there is no evidence to show how far it was carried out.

This great body of inconsistencies is a very natural phenomenon to find in the first days of the reaction: in the nature of things equally it could not continue—one of the policies must oust the rest. It would probably be most natural to expect that the policy to survive under Mary would have been that antagonistic to Edwardine Orders. The subsequent history of the controversy would incline the nineteenth century inquirer to expect this as well as a superficial study of the time itself; but in view of the facts the opposite seems to have been the case. The view that Edwardine Orders were invalid, though clearly held in some quarters in the earlier days of Mary's reign, seems to have decayed and been given up. It is quite possible that its place was taken by the more pacific view that the Orders were irregular and needed supplementing, but for want of more explicit evidence as to the date and extent of the "supplying of that

See quotation in Estcourt, p. 58. Gardiner seems to have favoured the former erroneous objection.

thing which wanted" it is impossible to do anything but conjecture. At least, it seems fair to conclude that Edwardine Orders were not regarded as null.

We shall have to revert to the subject in the following chapter; but meanwhile we may add that this conclusion is entirely of a piece with that which was arrived at by approaching the question from the other side. When we consider the deprivations, we are struck by the fact that the question of Edwardine Orders does not enter into the case; when we consider the Edwardine Orders, we see that they were not held necessarily to disqualify from holding a benefice.

It has sometimes been maintained that both marriage and Edwardine Orders were sufficient grounds for deprivation, but that the latter did not come into evidence because the former ground was more convenient. This is not the case: it has already been explained[1] that in fact it would have been much less trouble to deprive for Orders than for marriage; moreover, it is clear that when the inquiry as to marriage revealed the fact that the claimant of the benefice had no valid Orders, the

[1] See above, p. 109.

authorities were not satisfied with getting rid of the man on the ground of marriage, but went on to deal with the Orders question. This is clear from the case of George Aynesworthe, who "was forced to take upon him ministration" and to occupy the benefice of Stansted, though a layman. He was deprived for marriage, and George Thurston appointed in his place in May, 1554; but the matter did not rest there; for, having discovered, no doubt in the course of the interrogatories concerning his marriage, that he was not in Orders, the bishop cited him more than two years after to answer about his want of Orders [1].

[1] The confession of George Aynesworthe is given by Estcourt, p. liv, and printed below, Appendix XIII, from Harl. MS. 421, f. 171; he gives other cases of laymen holding prebends, but as these benefices involved no care of souls they are not of the same importance. There is no justification for Estcourt's plea (p. 47) that Aynesworthe was "ordained by the Protestant rite and reduced to the state of a layman," nor for his suggestion that John Gwynne, Canon of Bangor, or Oswald Butler, Rector of Wodhall, but never ordained priest, "had received Protestant Orders"; nor for his contention that the "married laics, who in pretence and under colour of priestly orders" had obtained benefices in Bath and Wells, were Edwardine clergy: they were clearly men like George Aynesworthe, William Saynt Barbe, and others (above, p. 58), who had received no Orders of any sort (Estcourt, 48, 49). It was

This case is very instructive as to the relative position of the questions of marriage and Orders: it proves (1) that the latter question was not obscured by the former; (2) that, as we have seen incidentally before (p. 108), where there was a real ground of complaint against a man for want of Orders, it was brought forward against him.

We have failed, however, to find one single instance in which Edwardine Orders are brought forward against a man; on the contrary, we find instances where they are recognized, and recognized as qualifying a man to continue in benefices which he was holding, and even to be instituted to new ones. In view of this, the reordination of some Edwardine clergy in the first moments of reaction, though interesting, is not of much value, except as a foil to set off the cases where there was no reordination.

an abuse, but one of old standing in England, and not by any means peculiar to the Reformation period. Pole himself was, until the time of his reluctant ordination in Rome in 1536, a great offender in this respect. See Denny in *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, ii. 482; and for Pole the *Dict. National Biography*.

CHAPTER V.

THE CARDINAL LEGATE.

Most of the events with which we have hitherto had to deal took place before the reconciliation of the kingdom. When Cardinal Pole landed at Dover on Nov. 20, 1554, all the vacant sees had been filled except York, Exeter, Bangor, and St. Asaph; the deprivations had been carried through, new clergy were fast taking the place of those who had been deprived, and they themselves were being restored to their ministration; all those who intended to submit to a second ordination had begun to do so six months at least before, so far as our evidence goes, except two[1].

The public Reconciliation was thus not the starting-point of the Marian developments, but their close. Granted that the reaction was to take place, this was theoretically the wrong

[1] James Clayton, ordained sub-deacon in London, Dec. 22, 1554, and the doubtful case of Thomas Degge, ordained deacon in London, March 4, $15\frac{57}{58}$. See note, p. 123.

method of carrying it out; it was putting the cart before the horse; but circumstances in England made the more logical and natural course impossible, and Mary, with every wish to openly exhibit at once an entire reversal of her father's policy of ecclesiastical independence, had in fact to begin her reign with a series of actions which had no public papal sanction, but were done by royal authority, and to defer the open reconciliation which was nearest her heart to a later and more favourable opportunity.

The history of this illogical interim policy must be briefly summarized, in order that we may estimate the bearing upon the clergy of England of the legation of Cardinal Pole.

The Roman court after the breach had not ceased to take great interest in English affairs. Reginald Pole, on his escape from England in the midst of the agitations concerning Henry's divorce, found himself continually forced into positions which his retiring nature and weak health would rather have declined. At the end of 1536 he reluctantly submitted to be ordained and made Cardinal Legate to England: the legation itself came to nothing; the cardinal was declared a traitor, beset by

English assassins, and glad enough in nine months' time to return to Rome without having ever reached England. Work in Spain and Rome and at the opening of the Council of Trent gave him no rest, and in Edward's reign there came abortive negotiations with the Privy Council. At the young King's death Pole was at Maguzzano, whither he had retired after narrowly escaping the papal throne on the death of Paul III; he was at once marked out as the only person who could reasonably be sent to England in view of the disputed succession, and the hopes which arose in Rome at the thought of Mary succeeding to the crown.

A Bull of Legation and three Bulls of Faculties at once issued for him on Aug. 5, and were forwarded to him on the following day with a letter from the Pope [1]. Mary had already entered London in triumph, and Pole at once entered into communication with her. However much they might agree, it was clear that there were immense difficulties to face. Penning and Commendone were sent on a secret mission to England, and as a result of the reports brought back to Rome, the Cardinal

[1] Tierney's *Dodd*, ii, Appendix XXII.

proceeded towards England in very leisurely fashion. At Dillingen he was stopped through continental political complications, and the news from England showed how far off he was from accomplishing his purpose as yet: the opposition in England to a papal legate was enormous, and meanwhile the Queen's coronation had gone forward independently on October 1, the ejected bishops had been restored by Royal Commissions, the Latin services and sacraments were in full use, the Queen was moving for papal sanction for those to be appointed to the vacant bishoprics: all this was going fast forward while the reconciliation was still delayed, and Pole himself still in exile.

Both Queen and Cardinal felt it to be entirely out of order; but the people, if they were to have the old ways restored, would not wait to have them at the hands of the legate; so for the present Pole had to confine his energies to doing such small things as he could from a distance to minimize the absurdity of the situation. Early in the new year (1554) he protested privately against the use of the sacraments before reconciliation with the Holy See, but the restoration made

steady progress. In March the Queen issued her letters and articles dealing with the whole ecclesiastical situation independently of Rome, and by a curious irony of fate four days before Pole's own *Breve de facultatibus* was issued by the Pope. Both Parliament and Convocation followed suit; then at last Pole became operative, and in virtue of his new brief of faculties absolved, dispensed, and otherwise set in order the men designated for seven vacant bishoprics in the end of March [1]. Other single rehabilitations followed, and as hearts turned by degrees [2] increasingly towards Rome, and many went over to Brussels to seek reconciliation from the Cardinal, the way was gradually paved for his admission to England.

The last obstacles were removed—the fear

[1] Even so it was left to unreconciled bishops to consecrate them on April 1, 1554. Estcourt's attempts to evade this fact are not edifying (p. 30). Bonner, the chief consecrator, was dispensed in February, 155$\frac{4}{5}$; Tonstall a month earlier, and Gardiner at some unknown date; the earliest of the known episcopal dispensations were the batch in March, 1554. See Estcourt, Appendix XV.

[2] Apparently very slowly at first, for even in the middle of June there had been very few reconciliations, and these were kept secret from all but sympathizers. See Goldwell's Letter to Bishop Thornden in Foxe, vii. 297, or Estcourt, Appendix XIV.

about Church property and the formal attainder under which Pole had been ever since the time of the great Divorce Question under Henry VIII. Pole landed at Dover in the character of Cardinal Ambassador, and was subsequently given permission to exercise his legatine functions. Parliament was reconciled on Nov. 30 and Convocation on Dec. 6; the anti-papal legislation was repealed; the bulk of the bishops, who till now had not been reconciled, received their formal absolution; faculties were issued to them and others for the reconciliation of the people at large; and before long the breach with Rome was closed; the Legatine Synod, which met in December, 1555, and the two following months, marks the end of the work.

We must try to estimate the effect of Pole's mission and work during these fifteen months on the fortunes and position of the English clergy.

The faculties originally given to him by the Bulls of Aug. 5, 1553, were renewed, confirmed, and amplified in the *Breve de facultatibus* of March 8, $155\frac{4}{5}$, in consequence of some doubtings and questionings, and it was on this authorization that he acted.

The work entrusted to Pole is there set out at length. He is to deal with all classes of persons—to absolve them from any offences of heresy, schism, &c., and their penalties; to deal specially with trusts, endowments, and the owners of Church property; to give dispensations from fasting to those who needed them; to authorize religious (when absolved) to live in the world and in secular habit; and specially with regard to the clergy he is to deal with the cases of marriage and irregular tenure of benefices, and with regard to bishops of their sees.

The main work was the reconciliation: the bishops were first reconciled and rehabilitated, then given authority to reconcile and rehabilitate those in their jurisdiction[1]. Thus the reconciliation was extended to all classes—the bishops and the archdeacons and commissioners reconciled the clergy, and the clergy in turn were instructed to reconcile the laity[2]. Meanwhile the news had been received with great rejoicings at Rome. Pope Julius III

[1] See Wilkins, iv. 91, or *De Hierarchia*, Appendix VII.

[2] See Bonner's Articles to his Archdeacons for the instruction of the clergy about Reconciliation, *Reg.* f. 372: also his Declaration to the laity there and in *Doc. Annals*, No. XXXV, Feb. 19, 155$\frac{4}{5}$.

published a Bull of Plenary Indulgence[1], with Jubilee, which was renewed six months later by his successor Paul IV[2], and so the breach was for the time made up.

The Cardinal was then free to turn to other matters. In a letter addressed to the Queen and King just before Christmas he made good his promise given to Parliament to do his utmost to authorize the *status quo*. This *dispensatio generalis*[3] dealt with (i) new foundations, bishoprics, schools, hospitals, &c.; (ii) marriages contracted against the canon law, and (iii) other invasions into the sphere of spiritual law; (iv) Church property; (v) dispensations concerning orders and benefices[4]. It is clear from the document that the retention of Church property in lay hands formed the most burning question, and perhaps, too, that the question of dispensations concerning orders and benefices was the least important, as it is not recited in the preamble of the Dispensation.

Of the subsidiary works the two most im-

[1] Dec. 23, 1554: see Wilkins, *Conc.* iv. 111.
[2] Collier, vi. 118; Bonner, *Reg.* f. 398.
[3] See Wilkins, iv. 112, or *De Hierarchia*, Appendix VII. ii.
[4] See below, p. 152, *n.*

portant were the questions of the married clergy and the religious. But each had been already dealt with by the Queen and the bishops before Pole's arrival, and he could only finish off the fag end of their work. The question of the religious had indeed been practically settled ever since the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and Pole does not seem to have done more than carry on the policy. But, as we have seen, the question of the married clergy had lately been a burning question. The deprivations were, however, over, and most of those who desired it were by this time absolved and restored to their ministration. Bonner had even had the courage (though unreconciled himself) to deal with bishops: he had appointed Hodgkin, his former suffragan, to St. Peter's, Cornhill, after deprivation from Laindon and his prebend, and, no doubt, after divorce too; he had taken Bird, the deprived Bishop of Chester, to act as his suffragan in Hodgkin's place, and instituted him to the vicarage of Dunmow[1]; and, more daring than all, he had rehabilitated Scory, lately deprived of the see of Chichester

[1] Newcourt, *Repert.* ii. 225; Dixon, iv. 245.

and an Edwardine bishop[1]. Pole, in reconciling and rehabilitating the bishops, no doubt went over the ground again, and his dispensation of Hodgkin is extant[2]. It seems probable that he dealt singly with each of the bishops, reconciling those whose main guilt was the breach; and to others, against whom there was more to be alleged, meting out an appropriate sentence—e.g. Hodgkin was suspended from pontifical acts, Holgate warned to abstain from them, while Shaxton was allowed to act as a suffragan, which he did in the Ely diocese, and possibly was already doing[3].

Similarly, Pole came in for the gleanings of the restitution of deprived priests and religious. The gleanings were probably scanty, but one of his acts of reconciliation and restitution is extant in the London Vicar-General's book, restoring James Lodge, an ex-Austin Friar, to ministration[4].

[1] The document is in Burnet, II. ii. 13, and *De Hierarchia*, p. 149. Boudinhon recognizes that the restitution to episcopal, not merely presbyteral, functions is intended. *Validité*, p. 72.

[2] Estcourt, Appendix XVIII*.

[3] Estcourt, xlii, li; Dixon, iv. 439. Scory had left the country.

[4] Appendix XIV.

The relation of the Cardinal Legate to the Edwardine ordinations is a more difficult matter. Here too the chief part of the difficulty was apparently over: the bishops had *proprio motu* dealt with the cases as they arose, and though they seem to have had no fixed view and to have sometimes regarded the orders as valid and sometimes not, the greater part of the cases which were to be called in question had already been disposed of.

The Cardinal, in the faculties which he received from the Pope, had no special instructions as to the validity or invalidity of Edwardine Orders. He was instructed to retain in their orders men who had unexceptionable orders (*rite et legitime promoti*), and those who had none at all (*non promoti*) he was, if desirable, to ordain[1]. Beyond this, with regard to doubtful orders, there was a general authorization to deal with those "not received at all[2] or received irregularly" (*ordines quos nunquam aut male susceperunt*): and to deal

[1] *Non promoti ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines ab eorum ordinariis, si digni et idonei reperti fuissent promoveri.* See the faculties in *De Hier.* Appendix VII.

[2] See above, p. 131. *De Hierarchia*, p. 153 *n.*

with any "gift of consecration conferred by heretical or schismatical bishops, or with any other such flaw and without the accustomed 'form' of the Church" (*munus consecrationis quod eis ab aliis episcopis . . etiam hereticis et schismaticis aut alias minus rite et non servata forma ecclesiae consueta impensum fuit*). Three classes are distinguished—(*a*) Men who had unexceptionable orders; (*b*) men whose orders were for one cause or another irregular or defective; (*c*) men who had not received certain orders. But as to the second, the authorization is general in its terms, and there is no provision as to how Pole was to deal with them. The general question of validity was to be settled on general theological grounds, as Boudinhon very justly observes [1]. What the Brief had in view was the Reconciliation, and it was naturally therefore no part of the papal faculties to Pole to include a settlement of that question.

But this vague and general language seems to show quite clearly that no decision had been arrived at in Rome on the case: there is no condemnation expressed of the irregular orders: Pole is to recognize those who have

[1] *Validité*, p. 75.

received them with the rest. Now had there been any such adverse decision, it must have been recited. in the Bull of Faculties; such generalities are the natural thing to write when a question is not closed, but would be simply misleading if the question was decided.

The absence of decision was not from want of knowledge of the Ordinal in Rome: a copy of the Edwardine Prayer Book had been sent to Pole in June, 1549[1]. In the Vatican archives there is a description of the Ordinal, which was evidently written in the early days of Mary's reign, and therefore was before the authorities when Pole's *Breve de facultatibus* was made out[2]. The instructions were then designedly vague: the Cardinal was to be empowered to deal with any situations that might arise, and therefore a general and comprehensive recital was made of the sort of situations which presumably might come up[3].

[1] *State Papers Dom.*, Edw. VI, vii. 28.

[2] *De Hierarchia Supplementum* (Rome, 1896), pp. 7, 42.

[3] If any one prefers to force the Brief into giving a judgement on the Edwardine Orders, that judgement can only be one in favour of them: if the words "without the accustomed 'form' of the Church" refer explicitly to the Edwardine Ordinal, then Edwardines, so far from

These instructions and powers Pole handed on to the bishops [1], but in a slightly altered form, which in itself shows that he did not regard the phrase of the *Breve* as anything but a general one. His own phrase runs thus:

"Orders received even from heretical or schismatical bishops, or even with some such flaw provided that in conferring them the 'form' and 'intention' of the Church were preserved [2]."

Now these two phrases are meant to express the same thing: the Cardinal is merely handing on faculties given to him. Obviously, then, (i) the phrases are general and not definite; (ii) if anything is to be argued from the changes of wording introduced by Pole it is (*a*) that Pole thought it wise to omit the word "accustomed" (*consueta*), which qualified the word "form," and so made it more clear that

being condemned, are given a share of their own in the benefits of the Reconciliation along with Pontifical clergy who equally were ordained *minus rite*, because ordained during the "schism."

[1] *Facultates pro Episcopis.* Wilk. iv. 136, or *De Hier.* App. VII. iii.

[2] *Ordinibus, etiam ab haereticis et schismaticis episcopis etiam minus rite dummodo in eorum collatione ecclesiae forma et intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis.*

forma was used in its scholastic sense, and did not refer to any particular Rite or "form of service"; (*b*) that he considered the "intention" of importance. Very likely, however, the changes were not made with any particular design; it was only the substitution of one general phrase for another similar one.

If then these faculties reveal directly neither the mind of the Pope nor that of the Cardinal on the Edwardine ordination question we must look elsewhere for positive evidence of their view. The negative evidence is strong as regards Rome: there had been no adverse decision. Moreover, there is evidence that in Pole's *entourage* at any rate the orders were regarded as valid; for Goldwell complains[1] of Thornden, Bishop of Dover, that, side by side with countenancing the breach with Rome, "the abominable late Communion," and the marriage of priests, "you have geven orders to I cannot tell how many base unlearned and evill disposed people." No records of Thornden's ordinations are forthcoming, but, from the position of this as the climax to the Edwardine rite and the priest's marriage it

[1] Writing from Brussels, June 16, 1554. See Foxe, vii, 297, and Estcourt, Appendix XIV.

would seem clearly to refer to Edwardine ordinations.

Again, Pole's mind is more definitely expressed in his own official documents. In the *dispensatio generalis* already described he says he will absolve and deal gently with those who, "by the pretensed authority of the Supremacy of the English Church," have received dispensations, &c. concerning orders, benefices, &c.; and though such dispensations are really null, yet he will recognize both orders and benefices[1].

This is not a judgement either for or against the validity of the orders, for their validity is not directly in question. Pole is only dispensing people for certain schismatical acts, of which the reception of such dispensations is one; but there is no hint of a distinction between the orders conferred with the Pontifical

[1] *Ac omnes . . . personas quae aliquas impetrationes dispensationes concessiones gratias et indulta tam ordines quam beneficia ecclesiastica seu alias spirituales materias* [*concernentia*] *pretensa auctoritate supremitatis Ecclesie Anglicane, licet nulliter et de facto obtinuerint . . . in suis ordinibus et beneficiis. . . . Misericorditer recipiemus.* The word in brackets has sometimes slipped out, and thereby havoc is made both of the construction and the sense: it is found in the passage as recited in the Bull of Paul IV, *Praeclara carissimi*, in the form *concernendo*. Boudinhon, *Validité*, p. 79.

and those conferred with the Edwardine Ordinal: in either case the dispensations are to hold good, and all alike are "tenderly received back in their orders."

The Legatine Constitutions of 1556 quote Eugenius' decree as to the Seven Sacraments, including the erroneous definition of Order, but there are no signs of any practical application of it [1].

Later on, in 1557, Pole visited his diocese, and in his articles aims at discovering any cases of improper holders of benefices which might have escaped the previous inquiries. Thus he inquires after married clergy:

"Whether there be any priests that late unlawfully had women under pretensed marriage and hitherto are not reconciled: and to declare their names and dwelling places."

This was not a mere formal inquiry, for Pole's Register gives evidence of several deprivations (one expressly for marriage) in 1556 and 1557. It is, therefore, significant that there was no inquiry made after Edwardine clergy left in possession of benefices [2]. We

[1] Labbe, *Concilia*, xiv. 1740 (Paris, 1740); cp. Wilk. iv. 121.

[2] Wilk. iv. 169. Compare the inquiries in Bonner's Visitation Articles, which are much more searching as to unauthorized clergy, but on the ground of their want of

know that there had been two such cases at any rate up till shortly before Pole's visitation, and there is no reason to suppose they were the only ones. Bishop Thornden had ordained many Edwardines in the diocese; there is no sign of any being ejected from their places except on the ground of marriage. Therefore if Pole did not inquire after Edwardine clergy who were in possession it was probably not because there were none, but because he saw no reason to disturb them.

All this is very much what we should expect. It hangs together with Pole's general policy of recognizing the *status quo:* and since Pole, who knew the Edwardine Ordinal, and had probably reported on it in Rome, made no pronouncement or hint of a pronouncement against Edwardine Orders, but quite the contrary, the only deduction is that he did not regard them as invalid, but allowed their recipients to participate in his general policy, which he pursued in the reconciliation of leaving things as they were.

This seems also entirely consonant with the instructions he had received from Pope Julius;

jurisdiction, not want of order. *Doc. Annals*, XXXIII. Burnet, v. 393.

but recent discoveries have shown that his successor, Paul IV, also entered into relations with Pole which bear upon our subject. On June 15, 1555, in answer to a request sent to Rome by a royal embassy, he issued a Bull which recites at full length the *dispensatio generalis* of Pole[1], and then confirms it.

But a condition is attached which was new: "Provided that any, who had been promoted to any orders by any one else than a bishop or archbishop duly and rightly ordained, should be held bound to receive the same orders afresh from their Ordinary, and meanwhile not minister in them[2]."

This condition, which was twice repeated, seemed to go beyond the generalities of Julius and caused some flutter in England. Who were these people who were to be reordained? During the whole of the "schism" there had been no bishop "duly and rightly ordained" in the Roman sense. Did the Pope mean to rule

[1] Appendix XVI. The copy printed by Boudinhon, *Validité*, 78, omits a passage of about a line in the third line of p. 79, between the words *ecclesiasticorum* and *revocari*.

[2] *Ita tamen ut qui ad ordines tam sacros quam non sacros ab alio quam episcopo aut archiepiscopo rite et recte ordinato promoti fuerunt, eosdem ordines ab eorum Ordinario de novo suscipere teneantur nec interim in eisdem ordinibus ministrent.*

out clergy who had received their orders from Heath, Bonner, Day, Thirlby, and other bishops who had been consecrated in the course of the last twenty years? Or did he mean to refer to the Edwardine Ordinal, and if so, did he mean that when Bishop Coverdale at Exeter used the Ordinal the orders conferred were invalid, but when Bishop Thirlby used it at Norwich they were valid? That seems impossible: especially as Thirlby himself was at Rome entrusted by Pole with the conduct of the business. Or did he merely intend to rule out the presbyterian orders which had been trying in vain to win recognition in England[1]?

The Bull caused considerable difficulty (*a pluribus haesitetur*), and a further explanation was sought. It is clear from the Pope's answer (Oct. 30, 1555) what the difficulty which was felt really was. There was no question of the Edwardine Ordinal, but the Pope's words seemed to declare null all orders conferred by bishops consecrated during the "schism." On their behalf, then, the Pope sent a supplementary Brief to explain that by the phrase "bishops duly and rightly ordained" he

[1] *De Hierarchia Supplementum*, p. 11, and *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, ii. 482–, 539–.

meant "those ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church." The explanation makes clear first and chiefly that the Pope was not referring to the bishops in question; but its further significance lies in the fact that it was a mere return to the generalities of Julius' Brief of Faculties. This phrase was, in fact, even more general than the phrase used there, because the Pope adopted Pole's improvement on the phrase and omitted the word *consueta* (*in forma ecclesie ordinati et consecrati* instead of *servata forma ecclesie consueta*[1]).

The difficulty was thus ended; the new phrase meant nothing explicit. The alarms were groundless: Heath, Bonner, and the rest were reassured, and Pole was able to go on with his course. There was (as is clear from the Registers) no new outbreak of reordinations, and the clergy who had been ordained by bishops consecrated since the breach, whether Edwardine or otherwise, were left to go their way unmolested; or at most the former were only called upon to undergo

[1] This form was adopted by Pole in his later documents. Appendix XVIII.

a small supplemental ceremony which has left no trace of itself in the Episcopal registers [1].

[1] Since this book was first sent to press, the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* on Anglican Orders has appeared, giving a very different interpretation of the documents of Julius III and Paul IV. We do not know if any unpublished documents exist in the Vatican archives on which that interpretation is founded, but certainly the documents by themselves do not lend themselves to it; in fact it results in several great difficulties and contradictions.

1. In the Letter of Julius.

(i) The Bull interprets *rite et legitime promoti* generally of the Orders of the Pontifical, but it is inconceivable that such words could be used to describe Orders most of which were *conferred in schism*, and that too in a Letter whose sole object was to set straight acts done in the schism.

(ii) It interprets the *non promoti* of Edwardines, but it is much more natural to understand the phrase of men like Saynt Barbe or Burbanke, who held benefices with no Orders of any sort; the provisions of the Bull fit specially well the latter, for he was actually found *dignus et idoneus*, and promoted to orders; see p. 58.

(iii) The Bull does not quote another passage (quoted above, p. 148) in the Letter which touches the question of Orders conferred for one reason or another *minus rite*, but it quotes the latter part in the altered form in which Pole incorporated it in the faculties which he issued to the bishops (quoted above, p. 150), and interprets them simply of Edwardines.

(*a*) If this is the true interpretation, then it follows that the Pope recognized the Edwardine Orders, for Pole is instructed to reconcile these clergy with the rest of the clergy of the "schism." This is precisely what the new Bull denies (see p. 149, *n.* 3).

The question of married clergy was already practically settled. The question of Edwar-

Moreover (*b*), according to this view Edwardines were both *non promoti* and at the same time promoted *minus rite*. How can this be?

These are serious objections to the interpretation now given by the present Pope of his predecessor's words.

2. In the documents of Paul IV.

The new Bull interprets the remarks there on the subject of Order as involving a condemnation of Edwardine Orders. But (i) on this view why should there have been any hesitation or difficulty? The Edwardine bishops had all been turned out, and the Pope would have us believe (in face of the evidence) that clergy too whom they had ordained had shared their fate. If these remarks referred to Edwardines they could cause hesitation or difficulty only if Edwardines (who had not been reordained) were being tolerated or allowed in their benefices. We believe this to be the case, but it is in contradiction to the view propounded by the new Bull.

(ii) If these remarks referred to the Edwardine bishops, the Explanatory Brief, instead of being the simple reassuring answer to a plain question which we have explained it to be, is an answer which only makes worse confusion; for according to it Edwardine Orders are sometimes valid, sometimes null: they are null as regards the Episcopate, but with regard to the priesthood and diaconate they are null when conferred by an Edwardine bishop, but good when conferred by a pontifical bishop (see p. 156). It is hard to believe that this is the meaning.

(iii) Moreover, if the remarks refer to Edwardine Orders, they amount to a declaration that the Edwardine Ordinal for priesthood and diaconate is a sufficient rite.

dine Orders had entered on a new phase: the doubt and even denial of their validity, which at first had been openly expressed, was giving way to a more pacific and sober spirit. Neither Pope had seen cause to condemn them. Pole was given a free hand, and it is possible that this change was due to his influence; but on the whole it is not likely that this was the case to any great extent: his influence would certainly be on the moderate and pacific side; but when we consider how inconsistent even such a thoroughgoing administrator as Bonner was in his attitude to the Edwardines, and how illogical the whole brief course of the opposition was, it is no surprise to find that it died a natural death. Pole may have buried it, but he probably did not kill it.

And there in its grave no doubt it would have lain, if the reconciliation with Rome had been a lasting one; the Edwardine clergy

But this is contrary to the whole contention of the new Bull, which is thus in this respect self-contradictory. It is far easier to believe that Paul IV did not make such a grievous blunder as Leo XIII imputes to him, but that the whole difficulty referred not to Edwardine bishops, but to pontifical bishops consecrated during the "schism." So at least Pole understood it. See Appendix XVIII.

would have died in their benefices and been forgotten. But when the breach was made again, and the Edwardine Ordinal reappeared, and the Edwardine principles once more were dominant in England, it was natural enough that the old opposition should be dug up out of its grave, and made to do duty again, and so decked out with embellishments of error and fable that it really seemed a living thing, and found some measure of acceptance with the Papal authorities, and inaugurated the existing Roman attitude towards the question.

This at least seems the only explanation which is consistent with facts and documents so far as they are at present known. If hereafter further evidence is forthcoming, it is possible that it might be necessary to modify or change the view here propounded of the Marian judgement on Edwardine Orders; on the other hand it is at least just as likely that it would confirm it.

As a matter of history it is an interesting point; but solely as a matter of past history: the validity of the present Anglican Orders does not in any sense depend on the view which a man like Bonner, or indeed any sixteenth century theologian, took of the

situation then, but on deeper and permanent principles.

But the English churchman as he looks back on this troubled period, so full of gain and full too of loss, may at least reflect with gratitude to God on the fact that the breach with Rome, already so appallingly wide, was not made wider by a formal adverse decision on this subject; so that at the present time there is a real hope that the consideration of the question of Orders may do something not to widen but to bridge the gulf[1].

[1] It need hardly be said that these words were written before the appearance of the new Bull on Anglican Orders. The hope is for the present dashed to the ground; but every fresh inquiry (even the Bull itself) does something to dispel the clouds of prejudice and misconception which have beset the subject: so undaunted *laboremus et oremus*.

APPENDIX II.

AN ACCOUNT OF VACANT BISHOPRICS[1].

LINCOLN.

Lincoln. episcopatus devenit vacuus vicesimo die mensis Martii A.D. 1553 per destitutionem Iohannis Tailor nuper Episcopi nullitatem consecrationis et defectum tituli sui quam habuit a rege Edwardo Sexto per literas patentes cum hac clausula Dum se bene gesserit. Destituebatur autem per dominos episcopos Winton. London. Cicestren. et Dunelmen. vigore commissionis regie eis facte. Processus est penes Iohannem Clerke notarium publicum. Amovebatur etiam quod male sentiret de Sacramento Eucharistie.

WIGORN. ET GLOCESTREN.

Iohannes Howper Wigorn. et Glocestren. destituebatur ab eis ex his causis viz. A sede Wigorn. per restitutionem Nicholai Heth olim deprivati cuius deprivationis et Restitutionis processus fuit penes Willelmum Gay regis-

[1] From the *Sede Vacante* Register (1553–5) of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, f. 38.

trarium. A sede Glocestren. propter coniugium et alia male merita et titulum vitiosum ut supra. In Sede Glocestren. surrogabatur Iacobus Broks.

HEREFORDEN.

Hereforden. Iohannes Harlowe etiam destitutus ut supra ex coniugio et heresi. Cui successit Robertus Assaphen.

MENEVEN.

Meneven. Robertus ffarrar deprivatus ex causis supradictis: successit ei Henricus Morganus.

WELLEN.

Bathon. et Wellen. vacavit per resignationem Willelmi Barlowe coniugati. Cui successit Gilbertus Bourne ut supra.

ROFFEN.

Roffen. sedes diu vacavit viz. per ānnos tres per translationem Iohannis Scory ad Sedem Cicestren. Cui surrogabatur Mauricius Griffen Archidiaconus Roffen.

CESTREN.

Cestren. sedes vacavit per deprivationem Iohannis Birde senis coniugati: in cuius locum successit Iohannes Cots sacratus ut supra.

CANTUAR.

Thomas Cranmer Cantuarien. Archiepiscopus de alta proditione ex sua confessione iudicatus, lese maiestatis reus habitus est. Unde sedes Cantuarien. vacavit mense Decembri A.D. 1553.

EBOR.

Robertus Holgate gilbertinus Eboracen. archiepiscopus coniugii causa Archiepiscopatu caruit et in Turrim London. coniectus privatus vitam transegit.

CICESTREN.

Iohannes Scory Cicestren. episcopus reddito Georgio Dey olim Cicestren. ex coniugio etiam episcopatu nudatur.

EXONIEN.

Idem accidit Miloni Coverdale Exonien. restituto in pristinum Iohanne Vayse qui metu alias eidem episcopatum cesserit.

DUNELMEN.

Cuthbertus Dunelmen. ab Edwardo Rege destitutus ex sententia deprivatoria redditur in integrum in eius (vivo Edwardo) surrogato successore.

LONDON.

Nicholas Ridley, London. Episcopo a sede London. remoto et in carcerem (quod male concionatus sit et heretice prauitatis labe notatur) coniecto, Edmundus Bonerus olim Episcopus lata sententia detractatoria restituitur et sedi preest London.

WINTON.

Iohannes Ponet Winton. Episcopus, Reddito Stephano Gardiner tempore Edwardi Sexti eiecto et incarcerato, ex coniugio Episcopatu nudatur.

N. B. There is no mention in this list of the see of Bristol.

APPENDIX III.

Bonner's Commission to the Archdeacon of Colchester as to Married Clergy.

Edmundus permissione &c. dilecto nobis in Christo magistro Hugoni Weston S. T. P. Archidiacono Colcestrie eiusque officiali Salutem graciam et benedictionem. Quia fama publica et facti notorietate referente, com-

perimus et luculenter invenimus quod infra archidiaconatum Colcestrie predictum multi sunt in sacris ordinibus constituti qui contra canones et laudabilem ecclesie catholice inveteratam consuetudinem cum de facto tum de iure non derent† quasdam mulieres et earum quasdam viduas notorie criminosas ac a iure reprobatas in uxores seu saltem sub velamine nuptiarum concubinas ac meretrices sibi assumpserunt, et cum eisdem in nephariis incestuosis et illegitimis amplexibus in grave animarum suarum periculum populique scandalum et perniciosum exemplum diu turpiter et fede cohabitarunt, nec ullis exemplis aut admonicionibus ad frugem melioris vite reduci possunt, ac interim bona redditus proventus et emolumenta ac fructus ecclesiarum suarum in huiusmodi turpes abusus convertant et consumunt et onera incumbentia presertim subsidium ac decimam serenissime domine nostre Regine debitam minime soluunt aut satisfaciunt pro eisdem : Nos, predicta ulterius sustinere non volentes ac futuris periclis et casibus quantum possumus prospicere intendentes, Vobis coniunctim et divisim, de quorum circumspectione et industria plurimum in domino confidimus, ad sequestrandum omnes et singulos fructus singulorum beneficiorum ac ecclesiarum ad coniugatos aliquos predictos pertinencia infra archidiaconatum hunc existencia, eorum presertim quorum nomina cognomina et beneficia in scedula

presentibus annexa describuntur, necnon ad nominandum deputandum et constituendum in singulis beneficiis predictis duos tres vel quatuor viros probos ac fidedignos eorundem beneficiorum et parochiarum parochianos ad colligendum levandum et percipiendum huiusmodi fructus decima redditus proventus obventiones commoditates et emolumenta, eosque et ea sic collecta levata et percepta sub salvo et securo sequestro custodienda et conservanda, ac que mora futura sunt deteriora iusto precio vendendum et vendicioni exponenda, atque de collectis levatis et perceptis huiusmodi iure dictorum beneficiorum debite deserviri et oneribus eorundem supportari procurandum et de residuo sic collecto levato et percepto fidelem compotum et raciocinium, cum ad id debite evocati fuerint, iuste reddendum et faciendum. Inhabitatoribus insuper et residentibus infra situm aut precinctum vel territorium locorum quorumcunque ad fratres aut religiosos nuper spectantium et ab ordinaria iurisdictione se exemptos esse pretendentes ad audiendum divina et percipiendum sacramenta et sacramentalia in proximis et vicinioribus parochiis et locis adiacentibus per vos coniunctim et divisim assignandis, oneraque inibi omnia cum parochiis huiusmodi subeunda mandandum precipiendum et iniungendum, eosque debite corrigendum et ad illa omnia et singula facienda subeunda et supportanda quibusvis iuris remediis co-

gendum et compellendum: ceteraque omnia et singula facienda gerenda et expedienda que in premissis aut circa ea necessaria fuerunt seu quomodolibet oportuna, vices et auctoritatem nostram committimus per presentes cum cuiuslibet cohercionis ecclesiastice potestate.

In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus apponi fecimus Datum London. x° die mensis martii A.D. secundum cursum et computacionem ecclesie anglicane 1553 et nostre transl. A°. xv°.

Reg. Bonner, f. 345ᵛ.

A Sequestration in similar terms adapted to the case of Barnard Sandyforde, "Vicarius pretensus ecclesie parochialis de Canwedon," March 20, $155\frac{3}{4}$, follows the above.

APPENDIX IV.

Bonner's Order for the Sequestration of the Rectory of Laindon.

Edmundus &c. dilectis nobis in Christo Nicholao Harpesfylde in iure licenciato et . . . salutem graciam et benedictionem. Cum ecclesia parochialis de Layndon nostrarum London. dioc. et iurisdictionis per legitimam deprivacionem Iohannis Hogekyns ultimi Rectoris et Incumbentis ibidem nuper vacavit

et vacat in presenti, Nos igitur ne dicta ecclesia parochialis diuinis propterea defraudetur obsequiis (pro ut nobis ex debito nostri officii pastoralis incumbit et tenemur) paterna pietate providere cupientes et volentes, Omnes et singulos fructus proventus decimas oblaciones et cetera iura et emolumenta ecclesiastica quecunque ad dictam ecclesiam parochialem qualitercunque spectantia et contingentia ac de eadem durante vacanti eiusdem provenientia contingentia in quorumcumque manibus existentia et remanentia hac consideracione duximus sequestranda, prout eadem tenore presentium sequestramus.

&c., &c., &c., terms of the sequestration.

May 8, 1554.

There follow some other terms of Sequestration in English drawn up for an unnamed parish in Essex. The *custodes* are W^m^. Pecocke, John Stayny, and Henry Felforde.

Reg. Bonner, f. 346^v^.

APPENDIX V.

Bonner's Order for the Divorce of John Draper, Rector of Rayleigh.

Edmundus &c. dilecto nobis in Christo Magistro Willelmo Roper LL.B. Salutem graciam et benedictionem.

De tua sana doctrina consciencie puritate et circumspectionis industria plurimum confidentes Ad evocandum et euocari faciendum coram te in iudicio quibuscumque die et loco congruis et opportunis arbitrio tuo limitandis Iohannem Draper presbiterum nuper Rectorem ecclesie parochialis de Rayleigh nostre Lond. dioc. et iurisdictionis, et quandam Ioannam Golde quam alias dictus Iohannes contra sacros Canones constitucionesque et ordinationes laudabiles sancte matris ecclesie catholice temere et de facto duxit in uxorem, eamque et negotium illius pretensi et illegittimi† matrimonii eum suis annexis et connexis quibuscunque audiendum et examinandum, Eosdem quoque delinquentes iuxta iuris exigenciam abinvicem diuorciandum et separandum atque ut de cetero seorsim et separatim vivant nulloque modo invicem cohabitent aut carnale commercium habeant mandandum, sub pena iuris monendum et inibendum; necnon penitenciam salutarem et condignam dicte Ioanne Golde propter sua delicta et excessus in hac parte, ac iuxta qualitatem eorundem prout discretione tunc melius videbitur expedire, iniungendum et imponendum; Ceteraque omnia et singula in premissis ea necessaria seu quomodolibet requisita faciendum exercendum exequendum et expediendum vices nostras committimus ac plenum in domino tenore presentium concedimus potestatem cum cuiuslibet legitime cohertionis ecclesiastice que

decreueris in hac parte, assumpto tibi in actorum scribam in premissis quorunque notario fideli et idoneo: mandantes quatenus de omni eo quod in premissis et circa ea feceritis Sigillum officialitatis.

In cuius rei &c.

From Reg. Bonner, f. 348. *Compare Foxe,* vi. 438.

APPENDIX VI.

Articuli ministrati presbiteris coniugatis.

1. IMPRIMIS an fuerit Religiosus, cuius ordinis, et in quo monasterio sive domo?

2. Item an fuit promotus ad sacros ordines dum erat in monasterio?

3. Item in quo et quibus sacris et an Ministravit in altaris ministerio et quot annis?

4. Item an cita professionem suam regularem coniunxit se mulieri sub appellacione matrimonii?

5. Item cum qua et in qua Ecclesia fuit matrimonii solemnizatio et per quem?

6. Item quam duxit, eratne soluta an uidua?

7. Item cohabitauit cum ea in una et eadem domo ut vir cum uxore?

8. Item an prolem uel proles ex ea suscitauit, necne?

9. Item an post et citra matrimonii huiusmodi solemnizationem assequutus fuit et est Beneficium Ecclesiasticum habens curam animarum et quot annis illud obtinuit?

10. Item an officio sacerdotis post et citra assertum matrimonium huiusmodi contractum in altaris ministerio se immiscuit ac Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus ministrandis se ingessit?

11. Item an premissa omnia et singula fuerunt et sunt vera &c.?

From Reg. Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, f. 143^{v}.

APPENDIX VII.

Commission from the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury to deal with Married Clergy in the Diocese of Bath and Wells.

Nicholaus Wotton utriusque iuris doctor decanus ecclesia cathedralis et metropolitices Christi Cantuariensis et eiusdem ecclesie Capitulum, Custodes spiritualitatis sede archiepiscopali Cant. iam vacante Predilectis nobis in Christo magistris Iohanni Cottrell LL.D. archidiacono Dorset in ecclesia cathedrali Bristoliensi Willelmo Bowerman canonico et

prebendario in ecclesia cathedrali Wellensi, et Roberto Eliott LL.B., Salutem in auctore salutis et in commissis solertem adhibere diligentiam. Quoniam omnis et omnimoda iurisdictio spiritualis et ecclesiastica que ad episcopum Bathon. et Wellen. qui pro tempore fuerit Cantuarien. provincie suffraganeum sede episcopali Wellen. plena spectans. ipsa sede per liberam et spontaneam resignationem Domini Willelmi Barlowe ultimi Episcopi et pastoris eiusdem inpresentiarum† vacante, ipsiusque iurisdictionis exercitium ad nos notorie dinoscitur pertinere. . . . Vos et vestrum quemlibet vicarios delegatos et commissarios nostros . . . constituimus. . . . Contra omnes et singulas personas sacram functionem sacerdotalem obtinentes infra dioc. B. & W. beneficiatos aut sacerdotia quecunque curam animarum in habitu vel in actu habentia obtinentes, qui se pretextu federis matrimonialis cum feminis contra sacrorum canonum dispositiones post sacras susceptas ordines de facto coniunxerint ac cum eisdem uxorario falso colore cohabitaverunt, Ipsos omnes et singulos ex officio vestro mero seu nobili ad certos vestro arbitrio assignandos locos et dies ad iudicium et districtum examen evocare mandetis, adversusque eos summarie et de plano sine strepitu et figura iudicii, sola facti veritate inspecta et cognita, secundum sanctorum patrum decreta et illustrissime domine nostre regine piisime literarum instructionum monitionum

hortationum et mandati literas nobis et aliis ius dicentibus emanatas et directas usque ad privationes et destitutiones delinquentium Dat die mensis. . . . A.D. iuxta computationem Ecclesie Anglicane 1553.

From Reg. Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, f. 16^{v}.

The Bristol Commission goes on to prescribe sequestration; dated June 21, '54.

There is also an Exeter Commission in a different form, fuller, but without the clause about married priests.

APPENDIX VIII.

Writ for a Return of Vacancies caused by Deprivations.

Philippus et Maria . . . Decano et capitulo ecclesie metropolitice Christi Cantuar. quibus omnimoda iurisdictio spiritualis ecclesiastica que ad archiepiscopum Cantuar. sede plena pertinuit ipsa sede iam vacante dinoscitur pertinere, salutem.

Volentes certis de causis quod barones nostri de scaccario per vos certiorentur quot et qui singulatim sacris initiati rectores ecclesiarum vicarii prebendarii aut alio sacerdotali quopiam vel ecclesiastico beneficio promotione

vel dignitate spirituali insigniti vel promoti infra diocesim et iurisdictionem archiepiscopatus Cantuariensis coniugati erant, Qui etiam et quot illorum singulatim et separatim ob neglectos et conculcatos sacrorum canonum ritus ab huiusmodi rectoriis vicariis prebendis ac aliis dignitatibus promotionibus et beneficiis spiritualibus deiecti aut deprivati vestra auctoritate fuerunt: Quibus etiam nominibus et cognominibus illi sic remoti deiecti et deprivati et illorum quilibet vocitabantur aut cogniti fuerunt et eorum quilibet fuerit, quibusque die et tempore, ubi ac ob quod crimen; Et quibus etiam rectoriis vicariis prebendis aut aliis dignitatibus promotionibus et beneficiis spiritualibus singulatim et separatim exuebantur deiiciebantur et privati fuerint; Et qui easdem rectorias vicarias prebendas ac alia dignitates promotiones et beneficia spiritualia post deprivationem sic habitam occupant in presenti; Una cum die institutionis et inductionis cuiuslibet; Vobis mandamus quod diligenti indagine scrutatis registris et aliis archivis vestris premissa tangentibus quidquid inde inveneritis prefatis baronibus nostris citra quindenam sancti Hilarii iam proxime futuri distincte et aperte sub sigillis vestris autentice certificetis.

Nov. 17, Regn. 1. 2.

From Reg. Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, f. 5^{v}.

APPENDIX IX.

Bonner's Restoration of Edmund Alstone.

Edmundus . . . universis . . . ad quos presentes litere nostre testimoniales pervenerint . . . Dilectus noster Willelmus Dalbye LL.B. dilecti nostri Nich. Harpesfelde iuris Lic. commissarii nostri generalis et specialis surrogatus siue deputatus, in quodam correctionis et reformacionis negocio contra Edmundum Alstone presbiterum, nuper Curatum ecclesie parochialis beate Marie ad montem Civitatis London nostreque iurisdictionis, rite et legitime procedens, eundem Edmundum qui penitenciam salutarem et condignam iniunctam sibi ob temeritatis sue excessus et delicta, ad illicitas et prohibitas nuptias post susceptum sacrum presbiteratus ordinem contra sacros canones et sanctorum patrum decreta convolando, humiliter subivit et peregit, auctoritate nostra impositam uti ex Actis in hac parte habitis et gestis notorie liquet et apparet: de vita et morum suorum honestate ac melioratione in futurum multum confisus ac propter notoriam paucitatem et defectum Sacerdotum idoneorum pro diuinis officiis in Ecclesia Christi celebrandis sacramentisque et sacramentalibus Christifidelibus ministrandis hoc tempore contingentem, atque ex aliis legitimis et urgentibus causis se in hac parte specialiter moventibus, et quibuscunque censuris eccle-

siasticis etiam suspensyonis et excommunicationis sententiis a sacris canonibus seu alias occasione premissorum in eum quovismodo latis absolvit et relaxavit eundem Edmundum ad diuinorum officiorum celebracionem et sacramentorum et sacramentalium ministracionem necnon officii sui sacerdotalis publicam functionem in quibuscunque ecclesiis et sacris locis preterquam in ecclesia parochiali beate Marie ad montem (quamdiu laudabiliter et catholice se gesserit et non alias) restituit Ac in quantum de iure potuit rehabilitavit.

In cuius . . . London xv^to^ die mensis Iunii A.D. MDLIV^to^ et nostre transl. A° xv°.

From Reg. Bonner, f. 347. *Compare Foxe*, vi. 439.

APPENDIX X.

Deprivation and Restoration of Alexander Bull.

Notum facimus universis Christifidelibus per presentes Quod nos Hugo Weston S.T.P. et Henricus Cole LL.D. auctoritate R. in Christo P.D., D. Stephani permissione divina Winton. Episcopi, necnon huius incliti Regni Anglie cancellarii, ad infrascripta sufficienter et legitime deputati rite et legitime procedentes, Alexandrum Bull virum religiosum in sacro ordine presbiteratus constitutum, canonicorum minorum eccl. cath. S. Petri Westm. unum, Pro eo quod, citra susceptionem dicti

ordinis, quandam Agnetem Turner contra uocationem suam ac contra sacros canones sanctorumque patrum decreta et contra ordinaciones Eccl. Cathol. precipue latine de facto in uxorem [duxit] UNDE nos H. Weston et H. Coole, commissarii antedicti, prefatum Alexandrum Bull non solum canonicatu suo in Eccl. Cath. predicta priuauimus et perpetuo destituimus cum suis iuribus et pertinentibus uniuersis, verum eciam, eius demeritis id exigentibus, a celebracione diuinorum officiorum ac sacramentorum et sacramentalium ministracione suspendimus in scriptis iustitia id pascente ET quia iam comperimus prefatum Alexandrum Bull de delicto suo huiusmodi dolentem atque contritum quodque eciam certificati sumus dictum Alex. certum † et condignam penitenciam sibi pro eodem delicto per nos in ea parte iniunctam peregisse et impleuisse, Idcirco nos commissarii antedicti —id† eiusdem Alexandri humilem petecionem audictum— Alexandrum Bull presbiterum auctoritate nobis ut prefertur commissa a dicta sententia suspensionis absoluimus et ad eorundem officiorum sacramentorum et sacramentalium celebracionem in integrum plenarie restituimus.

In quorum . . . xii° die mensis Marcii A.D. MDLIV^to^.

From Reg. Bonner, f. 348. *Compare Foxe*, vi. 439.

APPENDIX XI.

Articles of such Things as be to be put in Execution.

The dyvorce of married preasts according to the Cannons.

The restitucion of them by penitence and thereuppon to recommende them to other diocess as penitents.

To certifie the exibitie of Benefices which for want of lyving have no curats.

To certifie the Counsaill of as many as they knowe to have taken into there hands the goods of the Church.

To certifie what channells of Benefices impropered by some decays as they nede present reparacion and to signifie therwith in whom the fault is.

Not to confirm any Lease of any Benefice to the preiudice of the Successor.

To cause churches decayed with vacant frutes goods minished with that remayneth in Executors hands.

To interrupt them that eat flessh by pretence of dispensacion grannted by the princes.

To appoint such as dwell in Scites of monasteries to repayre to some church for to here the servyce.

To kepe the regestre for burieng christening and mariage.

A forme of Sute by Layemen to recover their tith in spirituall Courtes.

From Harl. MS. 421, *f.* 215. Cf. *Norwich Register, f.* 56. *Burnet*, vi. 366.

APPENDIX XII.

EDWARDINE ORDINATIONS[1].

LONDON.

FACTA fuit sequens examinatio ordinandorum in loco consueto infra ecclesiam cathedralem diui pauli, Ciuitatis london. situato, die lune vigilia Natiuitatis Sancti Iohannis baptiste viz. vicesimo tercio die mensis Iunii Anno domini 1550^mo^, Regnique Illustrissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri domini Edwardi sexti dei gratia Anglie Francie et Hibernie regis, fidei defensoris, et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremi capitis Anno 4^to^: per venerabiles viros magistros

[1] From Ridley's Ordination Book, f. 1. Note that various documents inserted in the book are not printed here, viz. (i) f. 2. The form of Letters of Orders as issued, e. g. to Thomas Lever; a form of giving notice of an Ordination (in English); a second form of Letters of Orders; the College Testimonials of Maye Bee and Thexton. (ii) f. 6. Letters of Orders of William Butcher. (iii) f. 10. College Testimonials of Leonard Pilkington. (iv) f. 11. Royal Letters Testimonial of the Ordination of John Bucke at Westminster in 1541; notice of Ordination on Dec. 11, 1552.

henricum hervie legum doctorem Reuerendi in Christo patris et domini nostri Nicholai miseratione diuina London. Episcopi vicarium in spiritualibus generalem et Iohannem Skory S.T.B. eiusdem reuerendi patris Sacellanum. Ac deinde eodem die post meridiem per dictum Reuerendum patrem in palacio siue edibus suis episcopalibus London.

Et ordines generales in crastino sequente viz. die siue festo Natiuitatis predicte, vicesimo quarto die eiusdem mensis Iunii ante summum altare in choro eiusdem ecclesie cathedralis, per eundem reuerendum patrem dominum Nicholaum London. Episcopum, iuxta ritum modum et formam Ecclesie Anglicane iam nuper saluberrime editam et ordinatam solempniter collati et celebrati fuerunt. Prouido uiro magistro Roberto Warmyngton in iure ciuili baccalaureo Officiali reuerendi uiri magistri Iohannis Wymmysley Archidiaconi London. in partibus agentis officio Archidiaconi in hac parte requisito tunc ibidem publice fungente.

[1]Et notandum est quod supradictus Reuerendus pater dominus Nicholaus London. Episcopus, dicto die siue festo, ordinauit tantum diaconos ut inferius patet quia tunc aderant nulli diaconi antea ordinati; quo fit quod eodem die non potuissent aspirare ad sacrum ordinem presbiteratus: me Roberto Iohnson Notario publico et Registrario eiusdem Reuerendi patris presente et hoc sciente[1].

[1–1] In a later hand.

DIACONI.

Turges. Magr. Edmundus Turges A.M. de Petworthe in com. Sussex Cicestren. dioc.; oriundus apud Petworthe predict.: per literas commendaticias in hac parte laudabiliter commendatus, &c.

Fletcher [1]. Ricardus ffletcher A.B. parochii S. Martini in Campis prope Charyng-Crosse in com. Middilsexie London. dioc.; oriundus in diocesi Ebor.: per literas commendaticias laudabiliter commendatus, &c.

Pellyng. Iohannes Pellynge de Herstmonnsex in com. Sussex Cicestren. dioc.; oriundus in villa de Lewes eiusdem dioc.: per literas suas. . . .

fforlove. Thomas fforlove parochie S. Botulphi iuxta Belyngysgate Ciuitatis London.; oriundus in dioc. Lincoln.: per . . .

Thexton [2]. Magr. Lancelotus Thexton A.M. Socius perpetuus Collegii S. Iohannis Euange-

[1] P. Lond. Nov. 1550. Vicar of Stortford, June 19, 1551, and of Ugley, Feb. 7, 1552; deprived of the former benefice and his successor instituted, Feb. 23, 1555; but resigned the latter and his successor instituted, April 18, 1554. Probably in exile under Mary: return and become ultimately Bishop of London. See *D.N.B.* See p. 107.

[2] Authorized preacher under Edward VI (Strype, *Mem.* II. ii. 267), and perhaps a Royal Chaplain (Harmer, 103). Probably left St. John's among the four-and-twenty fellows who followed the master, Lever (below), into exile

liste in universitate Cantabrigien.; oriundus apud Bawtrye in com. Richmundie Ebor. dioc.; per literas com. sub sigillo communi dicti collegii in hac parte laud. com., &c.

Clayton[1]. Iacobus Clayton London. dioc. viz. moram faciens apud Hackneye eiusdem dioc.; oriundus apud Byrstall in Com. Ebor. Ebor. dioc.; per . . .

Rose. Iohannes Rose de Lewes in Com. Sussex, Cicestren. dioc.; oriundus apud Lewes predict.; per . . .

Bee[2]. Mag. Iohannes Bee A.M. socius p. collegii S. Iohannis Euang. in Univ. Cant.; oriundus in villa de Burton iuxta Trente Coven. et Lich. dioc.: per literas com. sub sigillo . . .

Maye[3]. Henricus Maye A.B. socius p. dicti collegii; oriundus apud Wysshbyche Elien. dioc.; per . . .

in 1553. Rector of Great Bircham, Norwich, July 21, 1551, and of Anmer, Aug. 6, 1552. He resigned the latter and his successor was appointed, June 20, 1554; but he was deprived of the former and his successor appointed, April 10, 1556 (Norwich *Reg.*). See p. 107.

[1] P. Lond. May, 1551. Probably identical with the Yorkshireman of the same name ordained S.D. Lond., Dec. 1554; D. and P. in the following March. See pp. 123, 137.

[2] Probably formed part of the exodus with Lever from St. John's in 1553. His College testimonials are on f. 4.

[3] P. Lond. May, 1552. Probably in exile with Lever. His College testimonials are given here on f. 3. They are also entered with those of Thexton, Bee, Lever, and

Walker [1]. Ric. Walker A.B. studens in collegio Christi Univ. Cant.; oriundus apud Gargrave in Com. Ebor. Ebor. dioc.; per literas com. laud . . .

Randell. Franciscus Randell parochie beate Marie de Aldermanbery Ciuitatis London.; oriundus in Ciuitate Coven. Coven. et Lich. dioc.; per . . .

Butcher [2]. Willelmus Butcher A.B. ville de Maldon in Com. Essex. London. dioc.; oriundus in Ciuitate Wigorn. Wigorn. dioc.; per . . .

Hebborne [3]. Mag. Oduellus Hebborne B.C.L. ville de Westminster London. dioc.; oriundus apud Hebborne in Com. Northumbrie Dunelm. dioc.; per . . .

Harleye [4]. Willelmus Harleye ville de ypsiwico Norwicen. dioc.; oriundus apud More-

James Pilkington, under date June 20 in the College Black Book. The latter was already D., and was subsequently bishop (Baker, *Hist. of St. John's*, i. 285, 373), but his ordination as P. is unknown: possibly he was consecrated *per saltum*, and was therefore then described as "secular minister," not priest. Strype, *Ann.* I. i. 230.

[1] See below another man of the same name.

[2] Letters testimonial certifying his orders are entered on f. 6 below. He is perhaps the man who was Vicar of West Harptree, Somerset, in 1553, and resigned some time before Feb. 3, 1569 (Foster, *Alumni Oxon*; Weaver, *Somersetshire Incumbents*); or President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 1559–1561 (Le Neve, iii. 566). See p. 124.

[3] P. Lond. May, 1551.

[4] P. Lond. Dec. 1552, aged 27.

pathe in Com. Northumbrie Dunelm. dioc.; per . . .

Cotynge. Willelmus Cotynge de Myddylton iuxta Cyttyngborne in Com. Kancie Cantuarien. dioc.; oriundus apud Myddelton predict.; per . . .

Blooke[1]. Reginaldus Blooke parochie S. Dionisii Backechurche Ciuitatis London.; oriundus apud Clunberye in Com. Salopie Hereforden. dioc.; per . . .

Wryght[2]. Iohannes Wryght de Stratford at Bowe in Com. Midd. London. dioc.; oriundus apud Brereton in Com. Cestr. Cestrien. dioc.; per . . .

Grason[3]. Ricardus Grason vicarius perpetuus ecclesie parochialis de Chesterford Magna London. dioc ; oriundus apud Kyrkeby Thuer in Com. Westmerlonde Karliolen. dioc.; per . . .

ffynche[4]. Iohannes ffynche de Belerica London. dioc.; oriundus apud Gynge at Stowe eiusdem dioc.; per. . . .

Warter[5]. Thomas Warter parochie S. Brigitte in ffletestrete Ciuitatis London.; oriundus in

[1] P. Lond. May, 1551.

[2] P. Lond. May, 1552.

[3] *Alias* Gresham. P. Lond. Sept. 1550. Instituted to Chesterford, March 25, 1550 : deprived as *clericus coniugatus*, see institution of Dec. 12, 1554. *Newc.* ii. 133. See p. 107.

[4] P. Lond. May, 1552.

[5] P. Lond. May, 1551. Vicar of Rodmersham (Cantuar.),

par. S. Trinitatis parve, alias in veteri piscaria eiusdem Ciuitatis; per. . . .

Thomson[1]. Edmundus Thomson de Hospitali in Southewerke Winton. dioc.: oriundus in parochia S. Michaelis in Cornehyll Ciuitatis London.; per.

ffoxe[2]. Mag. Iohannes ffoxe A.M. moram faciens cum domina ducissa Suffolk; oriundus apud Boston Lincoln. dioc.; per. . . .

Heron[3]. Mag. Iohannes Heron A.M. Ciuitatis Roffen.; oriundus in par. S. Margarete Westminster London. dioc.; per. . . .

Markeham[4]. Mag. Henricus Markeham capellanus Rev^mi domini Cant. Archiepiscopi A.M.; oriundus apud Stoughton Lincoln. dioc.; per. . . .

Lever[5]. Mag. Thomas Lever A.M. socius p. Coll. S. Ioh. Euang. in Univ. Cant.; oriundus

May 19, 1553: probably resigned soon after. See p. 125. Vicar of Baddow, 1561–1567. *Newc.* ii. 25.

[1] P. Lond. Nov. 1550. Fellow of Univ. Coll. Oxon. Instituted to South Mimms, March 31, 1559 (*Newc.* i. 728), i. e. by Bonner: resign 1570. See p. 126.

[2] P. Lond. Jan. 24, $15\frac{5}{6}\frac{8}{9}$. The Martyrologist. Marian exile. Return and hold various benefices. *D.N.B.*

[3] Perhaps Fellow of All Souls, Oxon. (Foster, *Alumni*). Benefices, *temp.* Eliz. *Newc.* i. 415 [842 ?].

[4] Precentor of Lincoln, March 26, 1550: his successor was installed Oct. 27, 1554. Le Neve, ii. 85.

[5] P. Lond. Aug. 1550. Master of St. John's, 1551–53, then resign with four-and-twenty of the fellows and

apud Bolton in Com. Lancastrie Cestrien. dioc.; per literas com. in hac parte laud. com.

Die Dominica, decimo videlicet die mensis Augusti, Anno domini MDL° et Regni illustrissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Edwardi VI dei gracia Ang. Franc. et Hib. Regis, fidei def., &c. . . . quarto.

Ordines subscripti collati et celebrati fuerunt per Reuerendum in Christo patrem ac dominum Nicholaum, miseratione diuina London. Episcopum, in Capella siue Oratorio infra manerium suum de ffulham; iuxta morem ritum et formam huius ecclesie Anglicane nuper inde saluberrime editam et ordinatam; magistro Edmundo Weste Clerico deputato magistri Roberti Warmyngton Officialis Archidiaconi London. officio eiusdem Archidiaconi tunc ibidem publice fungente et eidem Reuerendo patri assistente.

DIACONI.

Bradford[1]. Mag. Iohannes Bradford socius

escape abroad. Return, 1559, and hold benefices. The celebrated preacher. *D.N.B.* *Works*, ed. Arber, 1895. Baker, *Hist. of St. John's College*, i. 130, &c.

[1] Prebendary of Kentish Town, Aug. 24, 1551. Sent to the Tower, Aug. 16, 1553, and probably deprived, though the cause of the vacancy is not specified in the appointment of his successor, Jan. 25, 1553. *Newc.* i. 171. Burnt at Smithfield, July 1, 1555. *D.N.B.* Foxe, vii. 143-285. See pp. 56, 112.

p. Coll. nuncupati Penbrooke Hall in Univ. Cant.; oriundus in villa de Manchester in Com. Lancastr. Cestren. diocesis.

Horton[1]. Mag. Thomas Horton A.M. socius p. eiusdem Collegii nuncup. Penbrook Hall; oriundus apud Katton in Com. Derbie Coven. et Lichefelden. dioc.

Sampson[2]. Magr. Thomas Sampson perp. socius dicti Coll. nuncupati Penbrook Hall; oriundus apud Playford in Com. Suff. Norwicen. diocesis.

Harte. Rogerus Harte parrochie de Stebunhethe in Com. Middelsex London. dioc.; oriundus.

[1] P. Lond. Apr. 1, 1560. Prebendary of Durham, 1560. Le Neve, iii. 316. Foxe, viii. 576.

[2] Rector of All Hallows, Bread St., March 10, 1551, but resign before March 28, 1553. *Newc.* i. 246. Avoided the imprisonment which overtook Bradford and Veron, Aug. 16, 1553 (Foxe, vi. 538), and went into exile, and therefore not the Thomas Sampson, priest, who did penance in St. Paul's for having two wives, Feb. 8, 155$\frac{5}{6}$. *Machyn's Diary*, p. 100. Return, *temp.* Eliz., refuse the Bishopric of Norwich, but Dean of Christ Church, Oxon., 1561-64. Preb. of St. Pancras, 1570-89. *Newc.* i. 196, q. v. Strype seems mistaken in making him Dean of Chichester before his exile, *Mem.* III. i. 234, &c. But Le Neve gives his name under date 1552, and his successor's election (Pye) as Aug. 29, 1553 (i. 257). The Royal Letter for the appointment of Dean Pye speaks of the vacancy as due to *resignatio seu dimissio* of Barth. Traheron. *Reg.* Day, f. 83. This may, however, have been the mere ignoring of Sampson's position.

PRESBITER.

Lever. Magister Thomas Lever A.M. socius p. Coll. S. Ioh. Euang. in Univ. Cant.; oriundus apud Bolton in Com. Lancastr. Cestren. diocesis; per literas commendaticias dicti Collegii in hac parte laudabiliter commendatus, &c.

Die Dominica septimo viz. die mensis Sept. A.D. Regnique dicte serenissime regie maiestatis supradicto, In ecclesia parrochiali de ffulham antefatus Reuerendus pater Dominus Nich'us London. episcopus ordines celebrans, dilectum sibi Richardum Grason Karliolen. dioc. diaconum. uicarium perpetuum uicarie perpetue ecclesie parrochialis de Chesterforde magna London. dioc. ad sacrum presbiteratus ordinem iuxta modum et ritum et formam huius ecclesie Anglicane in hac parte salubriter editam et ordinatam admisit et promouit; eumque in presbiterum rite et legitime ordinavit tunc ibidem; Mag. Edmundo West A.M. eidem Reuerendo patri in premissis assistente et officio Mag. Roberti Warmyngton Officialis Archidiaconi London. tunc ibidem publice fungente, &c.

Die Dominica, nono viz. die mensis Novembris A.D. MDL° et Regni illustrissimi in

Christo principis et domini nostri domini Edwardi sexti &c. Anno quarto, memoratus Reuer. pater Nich. London. ep. In Oratorio siue Capella infra manerium suum de ffulham Ordines subscriptos iuxta morem ritum et usum huius Ecclesie Anglicane in hac parte nuperrime editum et provisum collocavit et celebrauit, atque infranominatos ordinauit; M. Edwardo West A.M. Officio Archidiaconi London. tunc ibidem fungent. et eidem Reu. patri in premissis assistente.

DIACONUS.

Nowell[1]. Laurentius Nowell moram trahens apud Sutton Colfelde in Com. Warwici Coven.: et lich. dioc.; oriundus apud Whalleye in Com. Lancastr. Westcestr. dioc.

PRESBITERI.

ffletcher. Richardus ffletcher A.B. par. S. Martini, &c. (as before).

Thompson. Edmundus Thompson de Hospitali, &c. (as before).

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[1] Rector of Harting, Sussex, 1551, but deprived in 1554 (*Reg.* Day of Chichester); Rector of Drayton Bassett, Staffs., 1553, but deprived for want of priest's orders (*Reg.* Sampson–Bayne of Lichfield, f. 13, June 5, 1555). In hiding and in exile under Mary: return *temp.* Eliz. and become Archdeacon of Derby and Dean of Lichfield. *D.N.B.* See pp. 59, 108.

Facta fuit sequens examinatio ordinandorum in loco consueto infra ecclesiam cath. S. Pauli Lond. situato, die lune in ebdomada penthecostes, xviij° viz. die mensis maii A.D. 1551^mo^ et Regni dicti ill. domini nostri regis Edwardi vj anno 5^to^; per Mag. Hen. Hervye LL.D. vicarium in spiritualibus generalem dicti Rev. p. domini Nich. London. Episcopi, et Robertum Warmyngton LL.B. Officialem Archidiaconi London.

Et Ordines generales in crastino sequente viz. die Martis xix° die eiusdem mensis Maii in choro dicte ecclesie Cathedralis per prefatum Rev. p. dominum Nich. Episcopum iuxta ritum modum et formam ecclesie anglicane nuper auctoritate parliamenti editam et prouisam solemniter collati et celebrati fuerunt. Dicto Mag. R. Warmyngton Officio dicti Archidiaconi in hac parte requisito tunc ibidem publice fungente.

DIACONI.

Lyster[1]. Christoferus Lyster ville de Storteforde Lond. dioc.; oriundus apud Gysborne in Com. Ebor.; per literas commendaticias in hac parte laud. com.

Lawson[2]. Willelmus Lawson parochie

[1] P. Lond. Aug. 1551; not the same as the martyr in Foxe, viii. 138.

[2] P. Lond. Oct. 1551, aged 38. Perhaps Rector of Sevenoaks 1559, and B.A. of Christ Church 1551. Foster, *Alumni*; further details below, p. 199.

S. Petri in le Chepe Civit. London.; oriundus apud Radwell in Com. Ebor.; per . . .

Bonell[1]. Philippus Bonell parochie S. Sepulchri Ciuit. London.; oriundus apud Vlbarowe in Com. Wigorn.; per . . .

Leighton[2]. Alexander Leighton collegii nuncupati Pembrooke Hall in Univ. Cant.

Ap Richard. Willelmus ap Rycharde ville de Aburgavennye Landaven. dioc. et ibidem oriundus; per . . .

Burnell[3]. Mag. Edwardus Burnell A.M. vicarius de Mepeham Cantuarien. dioc. per literas . . .

Becke[4]. Edmundus Becke parochie beate Marie Botulph prope London Stone Civit. London.; oriundus apud villam de Manchestre Cestrien. dioc.; per . . .

PRESBITERI.

Jones[5]. Radulphus Iones de Dysse Norwicen. dioc; oriundus apud Wrexham Assauen dioc.; commendatus per literas dimissoriales

[1] P. Lond. Aug. 1551. [2] P. Lond. March, 1551.

[3] He was instituted to Meopham Oct. 2, 1550, and resigned before Feb. 4, 155$\frac{5}{6}$. *Register* Cranmer, f. 412, and Dean and Chapter, f. 98. See p. 125.

[4] Perhaps the man who supervised the reprint of Rogers' Bible, 1549.

[5] No other record of his ordination as Deacon is extant: but this shows that Thirlby used the Ordinal: and it was he who was sent to Rome by Pole to announce the reconciliation; the fact is worthy of attention.

Rev. p. domini Thome Norwicen. Episcopi de dato Norwici sub sigillo suo xxij° die Marcii Anno 1550. Dat. literarum ordinis sui diaconatus sub eodem sigillo apud Norwicum xxj° Nouembris Anno domini predicto.

Warter. Thomas Warter oriundus in Civ. London. &c.

Hebborne. Mag. Odwellus Hebborne B.C.L. ville de Westm. London. dioc. &c.

Clayton. Iacobus Clayton parochie de Hackeney London. dioc. &c.

Blooke. Reginaldus Blooke parochie S. Dionisii Civit. London. &c.

Veronens[1]. Die dominica secundo die Mensis Augusti A.D. 1551 et Regni dicti domini nostri Regis Edwardi Sexti &c. v^to^, In capella siue oratorio Manerii dicti Rev. patris patris† domini Nich. London. Episcopi apud ffulham, Idem Rev. p. ordines celebrans dilectum sibi Iohannem Veronenm† Senonensis dioc. in Gallia per literas commendaticias laudabiliter commendatum ad sacrum ordinem diaconatus

[1] P. Lond. Aug. 1551. Rector of St. Alphege, Ludgate, Jan. 3, 1552, but resigned before June 8, 1554. *Newc.* i. 261. Sent to the Tower with Bradford on August 16, 1553 (Foxe, vi. 392, 538, *Machyn's Diary*), but escaped Bradford's fate and reappeared as a notable preacher in the early days of Elizabeth's reign. Prebendary of Mora, &c., 1559-63†. *Newc.* i. 181, and Strype, *passim*.

iuxta modum ritum et formam huius ecclesie anglicane iam nuper in hac parte salubriter editam et ordinatam admisit et promouebat. Eundemque Iohannem Veronen. in diaconum rite et legitime ordinavit tunc ibidem, Ven. viro M. Hen. Hervye LL.D. eidem Rev. p. in premissis assistente et officio M. Ro. Warmyngton Officialis Archidiaconi London. tunc ibidem publice fungente, me Roberto Iohnson Registrario &c. tunc presente.

Die sive festo S. Bartholomei Apostoli, xxiv° viz. die mensis Augusti A. D. 1551^mo^ et Regni . . . Edwardi vj . . . anno quinto, memoratus Rev. p. Nich. London. Episcopus in Oratorio siue capella infra manerium suum de ffulham ordines celebrans hos subscriptos iuxta morem ritum et usum huius incliti regni Anglie in hac parte salubriter editum et ordinatum ad sacros ordines inframencionatos admisit et promouebat Magistro Barnardo Sandyforth LL.D. eidem Rev. patrem in premissis assistente ac Officio Arch. Lond. publice tunc ibidem fungente.

DIACONUS.

Mantle[1]. Iohannes Mantle parrochie S. Brigitte in ffleetestreete Civit. London. ; oriundus apud [ ] Lincoln. dioc. ; per . . .

[1] P. Lond. Nov. 1551.

PRESBITERI.

Lyster. Christoferus Lyster
ville de Stortford
Bonell. Philippus Bonell
paroch. S. Sepulchri
Veronens. Iohannes Veronens Senonen. dioc.

} ut supra in eorum ordinibus diaconatus.

Sequens examinatio ordinandorum facta fuit in Capella siue Oratorio infra manerium R. p. domini Nich. Lond. Episcopi de ffulham nuncupatum in vigilia diui Michaelis Archangeli viz. xxviij° die mensis Septembris A. D. MDLI° et Regni . . . Anno quinto per Magistros Hen. Hervie LL.D. Archidiaconum Midd. ac Vicarium in spiritualibus generalem dicti Rev. p., et Edmundum Gryndale ipsius Rev. p. Capellanum domesticum.

Et crastino die viz. festo S. Michaelis Arch. xxix° die eiusdem mensis Sept. in dicto oratorio siue capella Ordines generales subscripti iuxta modum et ritum Ecclesie Anglicane nouiter ordinatum et prouisum per eundem Rev. p. collati et celebrati fuerunt, dicto M. Hen. Hervie eidem Rev. p. in premissis assistente.

DIACONI.

Clerke[1]. Mag. Willelmus Clerke A.M. de

[1] P. Lond. May, 1552. Rector of Isfield, Kent, Feb. 27, 155½, but deprived in 1554 (*Reg.* Cranmer, 419, and

Lytlebury in Com. Essex lvij annorum etate ; oriundus in dioc. Lond. ; per literas commendatic. . . .

Awoode [1]. Thrustanus Awood de Degennyng in Com. Sussex et ibidem oriundus, xxx^{ta} annorum etate et ultra ; per l. com. . . .

Ascheton [2]. Thomas Ascheton de Shabery in Com. Salop. etatis xxxv annorum oriundus in dioc. Ebor. sufficienter commendatus.

Walker [3]. Richardus Walker de Lytlebury in Com. Essex xxvij^{tem} annorum etate ; oriundus in dioces. Ebor. ; per literas testimoniales commendatus.

Moore [4]. Milo Moore parroch. S. Potulphi extra Allgate Civit. London. oriundus apud Pakefelde in Com. Suffolk, per literas commendatic. . . .

Reg. Dean and Chapter Cant.). More certainly instituted Vicar of Rickling Oct. 12, 1556, and resign before May 13, 1558 (*Newc.* ii. 494). See other references in Newcourt, none of them very convincing. See p. 126.

[1] Or "á Wood." Instituted as Presbyter to Kennerton (? Kennington) Apr. 13, 1552 (*Reg.* Cranmer, f. 420), but deprived in 1554 as *clericus coniugatus* (*Reg.* Dean and Chapter Cant.).

[2] Thomas Ashton was deprived of Shawbury, Salop, before Apr. 8, 1555, for want of priest's orders (*Reg.* Sampson–Bayne of Lichfield, f. 20). See pp. 59, 108.

[3] Either this or the previous Richard Walker was ordained P. Lond. May, 1552. One of that name was Rector of Birchanger, 1560–66. *Newc.* ii. 61, cp. 514.

[4] Rector of Ashingdon, 1560–66. *Newc.* ii. 21.

Crowley[1]. Robertus Crowley Stacyoner parroch. S. Andree in Holborne Civit. London.; oriundus apud Tedbury in Com. Glouc.; xxxvj annorum etate per l. c. . . .

Lyster. Georgius Lyster de Popler parroch. de Stepney London. dioc.; oriundus in Civit. London.; xlvij annorum etate et ultra; per literas testimoniales commendatus.

Die Dominica viz. quarto die mensis Octobris A.D. MDLI° et Regni . . . quinto memoratus Rev. p. dom. Nich. London. Episcopus in Capello siue Oratorio infra manerium suum de ffulham, infrascriptos omnes et singulos ad ordines subscriptos iuxta modum ritum et formam Ordinationis in hac parte nuper editam et prouisam respectiue admisit Magistro H. Hervie LL.D. Arch. Middlesex eidem Rev. patri in hac parte assistente.

DIACONI.

Rampoley. Iacobus Rampoley de Weston in Com. Suff. ubi moram fecit per annum et amplius; oriundus in parrochio de Walsham in dicto Com.; etate xlvij annorum per l. t. c. . . .

Hawes[2]. Iohannes Hawes Scolaris in Gunwell Hall in Univ. Cant. ubi moram fecit per

[1] P. Lond. Nov. 1551. A well-known writer and printer: Marian exile. Return in 1559. See *D.N.B.*

[2] Probably identical with John Hawes, S.D., D. and

vij[em] annos; oriundus in parroch. de Walsham in the Wyllowes in Com. Suff.; etatis xxvj annorum per l. t. c. . . .

Dyx[1]. Christoferus Dyx parrochie beate Marie Somerset Civit. Lond. Taylor, ubi moram fecit per xii annos; oriundus apud villam S. Albani in Com. Suff. etatis xxix annorum; per l. t. c. . . .

PRESBITER.

Lawson. Willelmus Lawson parrochie S. Petri in Cheepe in qua parrochia moram fecit a festo Nativ. domini ultimo; oriundus apud Radwell in Com. Ebor.; etatis xxxviii annorum per l. t. c. . . .

Die sive festo omnium Sanctorum viz. secundo die mensis Novembris A.D. MDLI et Regni . . . quinto. In ecclesia parrochiali de ffulham memoratus Rev. p. dominus Nich. London. episcopus Ordines subsequentes iuxta modum ritum et formam Ordinationis nuper inde editam et prouisam celebravit Magistro Edm. Gryndale clerico deputato Magistri Hen. Hervye Arch. Midd. eidem Rev. patri in premissis assistente ac officio eiusdem Arch. in hac parte publice fungente.

P. Lond. May 9, 1554. Entered then as Rector of Ryckyngale Norwic. He was instituted to Rickinghall Inferior June 2, 1554, and was dead in 1560 (*Norwich Reg.*).

[1] Rector of St. Mary, Bothaw, 1574–75. *Newc.* i. 448.

DIACONI.

Hopkyns[1]. Iohannes Hopkyns par. S. Brigitte Civit. London., in qua parrochia moram fecit per quatuor annos; oriundus in par. de Weddesbury in Com. Staff.; etatis xxx^ta^ annorum per l. t. c.

Walker[2]. Thomas Walker de Crannesley in Com. Northampton ubi moram fecit per annum et amplius; [oriundus] in par. de Castill Ashebye in dicto Com.; etatis xxxviij an. per l. t. c.

PRESBITERI.

Crowley. Robertus Crowley
Mantill. Iohannes Mantill
} ut supra in eorum ordinacione diaconatus.

Die Dominica viz. vj° die mensis Marcii A.D. sec. computacionem Anglicanam 1551^mo^ et Regis Edwardi sexti &c. anno sexto, In quodam oratorio infra hospitium Rev. p. dom. Roberti Meneven. Episcopi in loco nuncupato Gracious Streete apud signum Clavium remissorum ibidem situato idem Rev. p. vire.

[1] P. Lond. May, 1552. Vicar of Nazing, 1572; but deprived before Feb. 13, 1589. *Newc.* ii. 432. Or possibly the partner of Sternhold in the translation of the Psalms; and schoolmaster in Suffolk, and Rector of Gt. Waldingfield, Aug. 12, 1561–70†.

[2] Perhaps Rector of Chadwell, 1562–68†. *Newc.* ii. 125.

et auct. Rev. p. dom. Nich. Lond. episcopi sacros ordines dei omnipotentis presidio celebrans, dilectum sibi Alexandrum Leighton Dunelmen. dioc. [scholarem studentem in Coll. nuncupato Pembrooke Hall Univ. Cant.] diaconum, ad sacrum presbiteratus ordinem iuxta modum et ritum ecclesie Anglicane &c. promouebat et admisit; eumque in presbiterum rite et legitime ordinavit tunc ibidem, Magistro Edm. West clerico Capellano domestico prefati Rev. patris dom. London. Episcopi eidem Assaven.† episcopo in hac parte assistente, &c.

Die Dominica xv^to^ viz. die mensis Maii A.D. 1552^do^ et Regni . . . anno vj^to^. In eccl. cath. divi Pauli Civit. London. supradictus R. p. D. Nich. London. Ep. auct. dicti illustrissimi domini nostri Regis in ea parte fulcitus, Ordines subscriptos celebrauit iuxta . . . discreto uiro Magistro R. Warmyngton, LL.B. Officiali Arch. London. in partibus agente Officio Arch. fungente, et dicto R. Patri in hac parte assistente, me Roberto Iohnson Notario publico et Registrario presente, &c.

DIACONI.

Pylkyngton[1]. Mag. Leonardus Pylkyngton A.M. socius Coll. S. Ioh. Evang. in Univ.

[1] One of the four-and-twenty fellows of St. John's who resigned with Lever (above) and went into exile in 1553.

Cant.; oriundus apud Rovyngton in Com. Lancastr. Cestrien. dioc.; p. l. c. laud. com.

Byrche[1]. Mag. Willelmus Byrche A.M. socius p. Coll. vocati Benett College in Univ. Cant.; oriundus in villa de Manchestre Cestrien. dioc.; laud. com. per lit. &c.

Stevynson[2]. Mr. Willelmus Stevynson A.B. socius p. Coll. Christi in Univ. Cant.; oriundus apud Hunwycke Dunelmen. dioc.; laud. c. per l. . . .

Richardson. Conradus Rychardson oriundus in par. S. Gregorii Civit. Lond.; laud. c. p. l.

Mershe[3]. Georgius Mersshe socius p. Coll. Christi in Univ. Cant.; oriundus in villa de Hallywall in Com. Lancastr. Cestrien. dioc.; l. c. per l. . . .

Marshall. Iohannes Marshall oriundus apud Leeds in Com. Ebor. pensionarius in hospitio S. Nicholai in Univ. Cant.; l. c. p. l.

Returned from Frankfort and became Master of St. John's, after his brother James was promoted from the Headship to the Bishop of Durham, 1561. *D.N.B.* Baker, *Hist. of St. John's*, i. 152, 374.

[1] Marian exile. Return 1559, and hold benefices. *Athenae Cant.* i. 562. Le Neve, iii. 315.

[2] Prebendary of Durham, 1560–75†. Le Neve, iii. 316.

[3] P. Lincoln. Curate at Langton, Leics., to Lawrence Saunders of All Hallows, Bread St. Preach in the north of England. Imprisoned March, 1555, and burnt April 24. Foxe, vii. 39–68. See p. 113.

Harryson[1]. Georgius Harryson socius p. Coll. S. Petri in Univ. Cant.; oriundus apud Willesleye in Com. Leicestrie Lincoln. dioc.; l. c. p. l. . . .

Kechyn[2]. Mag. Thomas Kechyn A.M. socius p. Coll. S. Ioh. Euang. in Univ. Cant.; oriundus apud Skypton in Craven Ebor. dioc.; l. c. p. l. . . .

Degge[3]. Thomas Degge A.B. socius p. Coll. S. Kath. in Univ. Cant.; oriundus apud Asshbye in Com. Leicestr. Lincoln. dioc.; l. c. p. l.

Boyes[4]. Willelmus Boyes de Hadley in Com. Suff. Norwicen. dioc.; oriundus in villa de Hollyfax Ebor. dioc.; l. c. p. l.

Dodman[5]. Iohannes Dodman de Hadleye

[1] Minor Orders, and up to P. Lond. May 9, 1554. Perhaps Prebendary of Wells in 1576. Le Neve, i. 188.

[2] Probably another of the exiles from St. John's. Baker, *Hist. of St. John's*, i. 285.

[3] A Thomas Degge, M.A., was ordained D. Lond. March 4, 1557; he was then fellow of Peterhouse, but only one Cambridge graduate of the name is known at this date, so the two entries probably refer to the same man. See pp. 123, 137.

[4] Evidently a disciple of Bilney and Rowland Taylor. Probably not the Rector of Wishaw, Warw., who was ordained Acolyte Oxon. Dec. 1554, nor, though it is more probable, the Rector of Messing, Sept. 7, 1554–62, Springfield and Tay parva, 1572 †. See *Newc.* ii. 417, 538, 574.

[5] Probably the preacher in Colchester punished under Elizabeth for breach of the proclamation about preaching.

in Com. Suff. Norwic. dioc.; oriundus in Civit. Norwicen.; l. c. p. l. . . .

Taylor[1]. Mag. Willelmus Taylor A.M. socius p. Coll. S. Ioh. Euang. in Univ. Cant.; oriundus apud Walton super Trente in Com. Darbye Coven. & Lich. dioc.; l. c. &c.

PRESBITERI.

Dawkyns. Willelmus Dawkyns A.B. socius p. Coll. Christi in Univ. Cant.; laud. com. p. l.

Clerke. Mag. Willelmus Clerke A.M. [above].

Walker. Ricardus Walker [above].

Hopkins. Iohannes Hopkins [above].

Escure[2]. Christoferus Escure socius p. Coll. Ihesu Cant.; oriundus apud Rayley Lond. dioc.; l. c. p. l.

Maye. Henricus Maye [above].

Fynche. Iohannes Fynche [above].

Wright. Iohannes Wryght [above].

Strype, *Ann.* I. i. 63. And later of Bentley and East Mersey, Feb. 1559–. *Newc.* ii. 50, 414.

[1] Probably another of the exiles from St. John's, and not either of the William Taylors ordained by Bonner: not mentioned in Baker's *History*. Perhaps Prebendary of York, 1558. Le Neve, iii. 185. See p. 118.

[2] This entry is added in a later hand in the ordination book, and does not occur in the list of ordinations in the Register, which otherwise corresponds with the ordination book.

Die Dominica undecimo viz. die mens. decemb. A. D. 1552° et Regni . . . anno vj^to^ in eccl. cath. S. Pauli Lond. prefatus R. P. D. Nich. Lond. Episcopus Auct. . . . fulcitus Ordines subscriptos generaliter celebravit iuxta modum et prescriptam formam iam nouiter in nouo libro diuini seruicii et ministracionis sacramentorum editam et declaratam, discreto viro Magistro Will. Dalbye LL.B. clerico Officio Arch. Lond. tunc in partibus agentis vice et loco Magistri Ro. Warmyngton LL.B. et dicti Arch. Officialis tunc egrotantis fungente, et eidem R. Patri in hac parte quantum ad officium Arch. predicti attinebat assistente, me Roberto Iohnson . . . presente.

Et examinacio clericorum infranominatorum fuit facta diebus veneris et Sabbati precedentibus per M. Bradford, Grumbold et Holden, capellanos dicti D. episcopi in loco consueto.

DIACONI.

Purser. Ricardus Purser moram trahens apud Hyllyngdon London. dioc.; ubi moram fecit a festo S. Bartholomei ultimo elapso; oriundus in Civit. Wellen. etatis xlvj ann.; l. c. p. l. c.

Grymesdyche[1]. Mag. Willelmus Grymesdytche par. S. Nich. Acon. Civit. London. A.M.; oriundus in Civit. Cestrie etatis xxxiij. ann.; l. c. p. l.

[1] Rector of St. Michael Royal, 1566–74. *Newc.* i. 494.

Putto[1]. Thomas Putto de Myle End iuxta Colcestriam London. dioc. ubi moram fecit per quinque annos; oriundus apud Bromefyld eiusdem dioc. etatis xl^ta^ annorum uel circiter; l. c. p. l.

Bacon[2]. Georgius Bacon ville de Walden London. dioc. ubi moram fecit a nativitate sua et ibidem oriundus; etatis xxxij ann.; l. c. p. l.

Grawnte. Ricardus Grawnte de Mylton iuxta Gravesend in Com. Kancie; oriundus apud Elmeshall in Com. Ebor.; Etatis xxxiij ann.; l. c. p. l.

Atkynson[3]. Willelmus Atkynson A.B. par. de Hornedon ad montem Lond. dioc. ubi moram fecit a festo penthecostes ultimo et ante hoc tempus apud villam de Rye in Com. Sussex Cicestren. dioc. circiter annum, et ante id apud villam Calisie per quinquennium; xxxiij annorum etatis; oriundus apud Mylton Harnes in Com. Bedfordie Lincoln. dioc.; l. c. per l. c.

Cocke. Mag. Robertus Cocke A.M. moram trahens cum domino Iohanne Gate milite vicecubiculario Hospicii siue Aule regie Domini nostri Regis, cum quo moram fecit circiter biennium et antea apud Dedham et Colces-

[1] Formerly a tanner who had to recant of heretical opinions in 1550. Strype, *Mem.* II. i. 336; *Cranm.* 430.

[2] P. Lond. Jan. 1559.

[3] Two of this name held benefices in London diocese, 1559–77. *Newc.* ii. 188, 436, 519, 547.

triam London. dioc.; circiter xvj annos; oriundus apud Dunmowe dicte dioc.; l. c. p. l. c.

Die siue festo S. Thome Ap. xxi° viz. die Dec. A. D. 155° et Regni . . . sexto, in superiori capella siue Oratorio infra palacium episcopale London. dictus R.P.D. Nich. London. Episcopus auctoritate. . . . Ordines subscriptos specialiter celebrans iuxta modum et prescriptam formam iam nouiter in libro diuini seruicii et ministracionis sacramentorum editam et declaratam me Roberto Iohnson Registrario principali eiusdem R. Patris officio Arch. Lond. fungente.

PRESBITERI.

Harleye. Willelmus Harleye par. S. Kath. Crechurche London., ubi moram fecit per annum et dimidium et ante id tempus in villa de Ipiswico Norwicen. dioc.; per biennium et amplius [&c. above].

Turnor[1]. Mag. Willelmus Turnor Decanus ecclesie Cathedralis Wellen. l. c.

[1] A medical authority and early writer on Botany, &c. Prebendary of York, Feb. 12, 1549; but resign before Aug. 27, 1552. *Reg.* Holgate, ff. 32ᵛ, 47ᵛ. Dean of Wells, installed by royal mandate, March 4, 155⅘, dispensed from residence and sent "to preach the pure word of God" elsewhere, and deprived subsequently of his deanery. Canon of Windsor, deprived before March 5, 1554. Rymer, xv. 368. Marian exile. Return and restored, &c., &c. Foster, *Alumni*. Strype, *Mem.* III.

Kynseye[1]. Mag. Robertus Kynseye A.M. socius p. Coll. S. Trin. Univ. Cant. ac vicarius perpetuus ecclesie p. de Ware London. dioc.; oriundus apud Warmynsham in Com. Cestrie Cestrien. dioc.; xxxi annorum etatis; l. c. &c. Et notandum est quod die siue festo S. Barth. dicto A. D. 1552 in capella Coll. siue Aule uulgariter nuncupati Pembrook Hall dicte Univ. Cant. Elienque dioc., dictus R. P. D. Nich. London. Episcopus de speciali licentia atque rogatu R. P. D. Thome Elien. Episcopi, sacros ordines celebrans, prefatum Mag. R. Kynseye ad sacrum diaconatus ordinem admisit et promovebat; Ipsumque in diaconum rite et legitime ordinavit tunc ibidem.

Et etiam notandum est quod plures alii fuerunt eisdem die et loco admissi et promoti per eundem R. P. ad sacros Ordines quorum nomina mihi prefato R. Johnson Registrario dicti R. Patris tunc absenti sunt incognita. Sed quidam Georgius Carr dicti R. Patris clerici siue secretarius tunc fuit

i. 235, 241, and *passim*; but especially *Saturday Review*, April 11, 1885 See p. 108.

[1] D. and P. as above: also Minor Orders and up to P. Lond. Dec. 20 and 21, 1553. Vicar of Ware, Aug. 5, 1552, resign before July 7, 1558. *Newc.* i. 904. Canon of Salisbury, March 23, 1554. *Reg.* Shaxton–Capon, f. 65. Vicar of Framfield, Sussex, April 17, 1554. Rymer, xv. 344. There is a marginal note here *Vidi literas subdiaconatus sub sigillo publico dicti Rev. Patris.* Why then was the subdiaconate repeated?

presens et scripsit literas ordinum clericorum tunc per eos suscept. sicuti credibiliter michi relatum fuit.

Redynge. Die Dominica xix° viz. die mensis Marcii A.D. iuxta computacionem Anglicanam MDLII et Regni Ed. vj &c. anno septimo, In ecclesia parochiali Christi prope Newgate Civit. London. R. P. D. Milo Exonien. Episcopus consensu et licencia R. P. Nich. London. Episcopi, loci illius ordinarii et diocesani Ordines celebrans speciales dilectum sibi Henricum Redynge oriundum in Civit. London. ad sacrum diaconatus ordinem iuxta modum et formam in nouo libro divini seruicii et ministracionis sacramentorum edito et declarato et inscripto admisit et promouebat eumque in diaconum rite et legitime [ordinavit] tunc ibidem.

Handmer[1]. Die dominica Penthecostes, xxi° viz. die mensis Maii A.D. 1553 et Regni Edwardi vj^ti &c. anno septimo, in ecclesia parochiali Omnium sanctorum in Lumbert Streete London. R. P. D. Robertus Menevien. Episcopus Ordines celebrans speciales dilectum sibi Mauricium Handmer Assaven. dioc. ad sacros diaconatus et presbiteratus ordines iuxta modum ritum et formam in libro diuini seruicii et ministracionis Sacramentorum

[1] Probably of Christ Church, Oxon., B.A. 1547, M.A. 1549. Foster, *Alumni.*

nouiter edito et facto admisit et promovebat eumque in diaconum et presbiterum rite et legitime ordinavit tunc ibidem.

OXFORD ORDINATIONS[1].

Nomina ordinat' per R. P. D. Robertum permissione divina Oxon. Episcopum in ecclesia parochiali de Thame Parke die Sabbati viz. xxij^{do} die mensis Martii A. D. 1549.

DIACONI.

Nicolaus Arscot[2] Exon. dioc. ad tm. Thome Denys de Holcann in com. Devonie militis sufficienter dimissus.

His ordination as priest follows, by the Bp. of Oxford at Thame on Easter Even, April, 1550.

Nomina ordinatorum per R. P. D. Lodovicum Salopien. episcopum suffraganeum vice et nomine R. P. D. Roberti Oxon. Episcopi in Capella Collegii Dunelmen. in suburbiis civitatis Oxon. die dominico viz. xviij^{o} die mensis Maii A. D. 1550.

DIACONI.

Walterus Wryght LL.D.[3] Archidiaconatus Oxon. Archidiaconus.

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[1] From *Reg.* King, p. 64.

[2] P. as below. Rector of Bideford, *Register* King; also ordained D. March 9, and P. March 24, 1553, by the Bishop of Shrewsbury.

[3] Archdeacon of Oxford since 1542. Rector of Duck-

Nomina ordinatorum per eundem R. P. D. Lodovicum Salopien. Episcopum suffraganeum vice . . . in ecclesia parochiali de Thame Parke die dominico viz. xij° die mensis Octobris A. D. 1550.

DIACONI.

Rogerus Norwood A.M. Collegii Merton in Universitate Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

PRESBITERI.

Robertus Taynter A.M.[1] socius Collegii Magdalenen. in Universitate Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

Christoferus Rawlins A.M.[2] socius collegii

lington, 1550; of St. Breoc, Cornwall, from Feb. 24, 1552, till his resignation some time before Sept. 17, 1557; of Silverton St. Mary, Devon, Oct. 24, 1552. Canon of Exeter, 1554. Canon of Sarum, 1559. Canon of Winchester, 1560. Died May 10, 1561. Foster, *Alumni*. Exeter *Register*. Oliver, *Eccles, Antiq*. i. 90. And see an account of his religious vacillations in Strype, *Ann*. I. i. 382 (255). See p. 127.

[1] Evidently an Edwardine deacon, though the record of his ordination is lost: also ordained from *ostiarius* to sub-deacon, Dec. 22, and D. P. Dec. 23, 1553, in London. Many benefices. See Foster, *Alumni*, and Rymer, xv. 392.

[2] Was S. D. April 6, 1549. Evidently an Edwardine deacon, though the record of his ordination is not forthcoming: also ordained D. May 19, and P. Dec. 22, 1554. Canon of Lincoln, 1551. Vicar of Adderbury from May 12, 1554, till death in 1589. Foster, *Alumni*. Oxford

Beate Marie Virginis Winton. in Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem.

Nomina ordinatorum per R.P.D. Lodovicum Salopien. Episcopum suffraganeum in ecclesia parochiali de Thame Parke vice. . . . die dominico viz xxiij° die mensis Novembris A.D. 1550.

DIACONI.

Iohannes Pullan A.M.[1] Collegii Christi in Universitatem Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem collegii, &c.

Ricardus Benet[2] Collegii Christi Oxon. ad tm. superioris editui eiusdem collegii, &c.

Iohannes ffawkener[3] de Universitate Oxon.

Register. Wood, *Hist. of Oxford Colleges and Halls* (Oxf. 1786), 185. The entry here is partly crossed through. See p. 120.

[1] Senior Student of Christ Church, Rector of St. Peter, Cornhill, Jan. 7, 1552, deprived presumably in 155$\frac{3}{4}$, and succeeded by Hodgkin, Bishop of Bedford, Apr. 2, 1555, see above, p. 57. Went into exile but returned at Mary's death, was restored to Cornhill and made Archdeacon of Colchester, &c. Died in 1565. Another man of the name held benefices under Mary, e.g. Ilkley, Yorks, Aug. 4, 1554 (York *Register*), and Rudbaxton (diocese of St. David's). Rymer, xv. 348. Foster, *Alumni. Ath. Oxon.* i. 345. Newcourt, *Repert.* i. 92. Strype, *passim*. Foxe, viii. 384.

[2] Perhaps the same as the Rector of Bucknell, Oxon., who was also ordained S. D. Feb. 17, D. March 9, and P. March 24, 1553. See below, p. 215: and above, pp. 118, 119.

[3] Rector of Barford, May 11, 1548; resigned and his successor instituted July, 1554. See p. 108.

ad tm. rectorie sue de [Barford] in Com. Wilts.

Iohannes Addyson[1] Collegii Regine in Universitate Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

Hugo Chernocke[2] ad titulum servicii sui viz. Curati de Mylton cum quo, &c.

Nomina ordinatorum per eundem R.P. episcopum Salopien. vice . . . in ecclesia parochiali predicta die dominico viz. xxix die mensis Martii A.D. 1551.

DIACONI.

Iohannes Mullyns[3] socius Collegii Magdalene in Universitate Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

Thomas Byckley A.M.[4] socius Collegii Magdalene in Universitate Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem Collegii.

[1] Also ordained S. D. Feb. 17, D. March 9, P. March 24, 1553. Scholar of Queen's, B.A. and M.A. See p. 119.

[2] Perhaps one of those of the name in Foster, *Alumni*.

[3] Abroad in Queen Mary's reign at Zurich, &c. Return at her death and become Archdeacon of London, &c. See Strype *passim*, and Newc. *Repert.* i. 63.

[4] Chaplain to King Edward and preacher at Windsor: abroad in France during Mary's reign: return, and finally become Bishop of Chichester. *D.N.B.* Dixon, *Hist.* iii. 107, iv. 36. Wood, *Hist. Oxford* (Oxford, 1796), ii. 105.

PRESBITERI.

Iohannes Pullan A.M. Collegii Christi Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem Collegii, &c.

Three blank pages follow, and then the Marian Ordinations begin thus:—

COLLATIO ORDINUM.

Nomina ordinatorum per R. P. D. Ludovicum Salopien. Epm. suffraganeum vice . . . in sacello Collegii Beate Marie Virginis Winton. in Oxon. sabbato quatuor temporum in prima ebdomada quadragesime viz. xviij° die mensis Februarii A.D. 1553.

ACCOLITI.

1. Thomas Cottysmore clericus.

2. Mag. Thomas Benet socius collegii Lincoln. dioc. Oxon.

3. Mag. Christopherus Hargraves socius collegii Lincoln. Oxon.

4. Anthonius Hurlybut collegii Merton scolaris Oxon.

5. Mag. Willelmus Tayler socius collegii Ballioll Oxon.

6. Mag. Ricardus Hawarde socius collegii Corporis Christi Oxon.

7. Mag. Willelmus Norfolke socius collegii Oriell.

SUBDIACONI.

1. Mag. Ricardus Haywarde . . . ad tm. eiusdem.

2. Mag. Willelmus Norfolke. . . .

3. Mag. Iohannes Pewse socius Collegii Beate Marie Magdalene ad tm. eiusdem.

4. Mag. David Powell socius Collegii Oriell ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

5. Mag. Ricardus Benet rector de Bucknell ad tm. dicte rectorie sue.

6. Mag. Iohannes Ashebroke socius Collegii Brasynnose Oxon. ad tm. eiusdem.

7. Mag. Ricardus Shewall socius Collegii Oriell ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

8. Mag. Iohannes Hodgeson socius Collegii Brasynnose ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

9. Dns. Iohannes Addeson A.B. Collegii Regine Oxon. scolaris ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

10. Dns. Reginaldus Danyell Collegii Exon. socius ad tm. eiusdem collegii.

11. Iohannes Iones Asaphen. dioc. ad tm. Iohannis Owen de llanfeenfrarde in Com. Denbygh Armigeri sufficienter dimissus.

Twelve more sub-deacons and two deacons follow, &c.

EXETER ORDINATIONS[1].

December 20, 1551, in the Bishop's private chapel:

DEACONS.	Anthony Randall[2].
	Robert Awman.
	David Notherell.
	Thomas Champneys.

December 26, 1551.

PRIESTS.	Anthony Randall.
	David Notherell.

January 1, 155$\frac{1}{2}$.

DEACON AND PRIEST.	John Grose[3].

July 3, 1552.

DEACONS.	John Harman[4].
	William Brydges[5].

July 28, 1552.

DEACON.	John Tyllye.

May 22, 1553.

DEACON.	Thomas Richard.

[1] From Coverdale's *Register XVI.* f. 12.

[2] Licensed to preach, Dec. 22. *Register XVII.*

[3] Also ordained Minor Orders, May 16, 1554. Subdeacon, May 19, at Exeter: D. and P. at London, June 3, 1554. Rector of Creed, May 12, 1553. See pp. 118, 120.

[4] Rector of Morchard, July 4, 1553, but resign before Nov. 13, 1553.

[5] Also ordained S.D. Feb. 11, 155$\frac{3}{4}$. D. March 10, P. March 24, at Exeter.

PRIESTS. Thomas Richard.
Henry Beding [1].

YORK ORDINATIONS [2].

By the Bishop of Hull.

Sunday, July 26, 1551, at Ugthorpe Chapel.
DEACON. Henry Cockcroft [3].

Sunday, Sept. 6, 1551, at Thorpe Chapel.
DEACON. George Ellison [4].

SS. Simon and Jude, at Grove Chapel.
PRIEST. William Denman [5].

January 24, at Lithe Chapel.
DEACON. Matthew Watson, M.A.[6]
PRIEST. Leonard Batson.

[1] Instituted to Exbourne, March 19, 155$\frac{2}{3}$, and apparently left in possession. No record of his ordination as D. is so far forthcoming. See p. 124.

[2] From Vicar-General's Institution Book, f. 103.

Admitted Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1558. Baker, *Hist. of St. John's*, i. 287.

[4] Vicar of Arncliffe, Oct. 19, 1552 (see above, p. 125); and Rector of Burnsall from Sept. 25, 1551, till his death, some time before June 21, 1557. Master of University College, Oxford, 1551–57.

[5] Possibly the same as William Deman who was Rector of Ordsall, June 20, 1550, and deprived before Jan. 16, 155$\frac{8}{9}$.

[6] Vicar of Helmsley, Jan. 30, 1551. There is no evidence of his deprivation under Mary. See p. 125.

July 17, 1552, at Egton Chapel, Lithe.
DEACON. Giles Skires, B.A.

Aug 7, 1552, at Egton Chapel, Lithe.
DEACON. Anthony Askham, M.B.[1]

July 2, 1553, at York Minster.
DEACONS. Robert Hutton[2].
Thomas Thomson[3].
Leonard Cowll[4].
William Cowll.
John Smyth[5].

A CANTERBURY ORDINATION.

Robert Drakes, ordained by Cranmer (Strype, *Cranmer*, i. 273), Vicar of Thundersley, Jan.

[1] Also ordained to all Orders from first tonsure to priesthood, London, Dec. 20, 21, 1553; Rector of Methley, Aug. 10, 1552; also Vicar of Burneston. Writer on medicine. *Athenae Cant.* i. 197. Appendix XVII.

[2] At Pembroke College, Cambridge, under Turner (see above): in exile, but return at Elizabeth's accession and hold various benefices till his death, circ. Sept. 1568. Author of *A Sum of Divinitie* (1548), &c. See *Athenae Cant.*, and Newcourt, *Repert.*

[3] Three men of this name were ordained later in London; this is possibly the one ordained Sub-deacon, Feb. 16, and D. and P. Feb. 17, 1553.

[4] Also ordained to all Orders in London, Feb. 16, 17, 1553. Title at Marske in Cleveland.

[5] Vicar of Slingsby, May 6, 1553; and apparently not deprived under Mary.

29, 1550, but deprived before June 7, 1554, for marriage (Newcourt, ii. 587); burnt in April, 1556 (Foxe, viii. 105–). See p. 116.

APPENDIX XIII.

Case of George Aynesworthe.

Secundo die Octobris A° 1556 coram Reverendo in Christo patre Iohanne Norwicen: episcopo et Edwardo Waldegrave milite.

George Aynesworthe examyned the day aforesaid hath take his othe that he toke upon him ministration most compelled constrayned and forced therunto beyng a servyng man under Sir thomas gryffyn in northamtonshire was sente for to london by M^r^ Poley and there unwarely contrary to his mynd was brought into bonnds beyng a symple man w^t^outh experience so that he must eyther take apon him ministration or els goo to pryson: so that the violence and compulsion done unto him, in that he was drawen unto hit contrary to his mynd, hath soo wrought in him that he cold never be his owne man syns, his conscience always gryffyng him that he nether was at that tyme nor yet is no mynyster but a mere laye man and where as he sought meanes alwas to have gyven over the benefice he was so bonde that he cold not

untill such tyme as he was removed by reason of marriage desiryng that he may lyve as a laye man like as his conscience doth bere him witnes that he is: and as he hath taken his othe that he may thus do under obedience and submission under all good order and laws of the realme, his witts faylying him at certeyn tymes of the yere beyng more knowne than I am able to expresse.

From Harl. MS. 421. *f.* 171.

APPENDIX XIV.

Restoration of James Lodge.

Reginaldus . . . dilecto nobis in Christo Iacobo Lodge Clerico Londinen. dioc. ordinis fratrum Augustinen. professori Salutem in domino sempiternam. . . .

Nos igitur . . . te a quibusvis excommunicationis suspensionis et interdictorum aliisque ecclesiasticis et temporalibus sententiis censuris et penis etiam si illas per plures annos sustinueris et in eis insordueris etiam ratione quorumcunque beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum per te hucusque indebite detentorum . . . et ab episcopis hereticis et schismaticis ac alias minus rite quorumcunque etiam sacrorum ordinum susceptionis et contra papatum Romanum iuramenti prestationis . . . absolvimus

et liberamus et unitati Ecclesie Catholice restituimus. Necnon tecum super irregularitate quacunque occasione premissorum etiam quia censuris ligatus missas et alia divina officia etiam forsan contra ritus et ceremonias ab Ecclesia Catholica hactenus probatas et per eam usitatas celebraveris aut illis alias te immiscueris contracta, quodque illa et premissis non obstantibus omnibus et singulis etiam sacris et presbiteratus ordinibus etiam ab hereticis et schismaticis episcopis etiam minus rite dummodo in eorum collatione sit servata intentio et forma ecclesie susceptis uti, et in illis ministrare ac unum beneficium ecclesiasticum etiam curatum alias tibi legitime conferendum recipere et retinere, illique in habitu clerici secularis habitum tamen regularem sub honesta toga presbiteri secularis si presentis temporis ratio hoc feret deserendo deservire, et extra regularia loca donec ea fuerint restaurata et alias ad sedis apostolice beneplacitum remanere libere et licite possis et valeas ob presentem in hoc regno ministrorum ecclesiasticorum defectum misericorditer in domino dispensamus . . . .

From Vicar-General's Book (Crooke), f. 190. There is another form in the Restoration and Dispensation of William Watson, a Cistercian and Sub-deacon, by Pole, Jan. 31, 1555. *London Ordination Book, f.* 41.

APPENDIX XV.

Reconciliation of a Married Priest.

Edmundus . . . Vobis tenore presentium significamus et innotescimus quod nos auctoritate sacrosancte sedis Apostolice per R. P. Reginaldum Cardinalem nuncupatum Polum et ad Anglie regnum a latere legatum nobis in hac parte concessa, Dilectum nobis in Christo A. B. p. nuper Rectorem D. B. nostrarum London.: diocesis et iurisdictionis ab omni irregularitate et excommunicationis et suspensionis aliisque sententiis et penis ecclesiasticis alias in eum (eo quod ipse post sacri presbiteratus ordinis susceptionem matrimonium pretensum contra sacros canones temere de facto contraxit et deinde in altaris officio ministraverit) incursis, cognita prius ipsius vera et non simulata penitentia pro modo et culpe sue predicte alias sibi iniuncta, et abiurata et reiecta muliere cum qua erat copulatus in forma in hac parte proscripta Absolvimus atque ad officii sui sacerdotalis publicam functionem sacramentorumque administrationem et christifidelium communionem auctoritate predicta prout eundem sit Restituimus et rehabilitamus per presentes. In cuius rei . . . quinto die mensis Iulii A. D. MDLV et nostre translationis A° XVI°.

From Reg. Bonner, f. 371.

APPENDIX XVI.

Bull and Brief of Paul IV.

Bull "Praeclara Charissimi" of Paul IV.

Ja. Larrinen.
Paulus, Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei.
Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Praeclara charissimi in Christo filii nostri Philippi Regis et charissimae in Christo filiae nostrae Mariae, Reginae Angliae, Franciae Illustrium in Deum pietas ac sincera in Nos et hanc Sanctam sedem observantia atque in hac nova Regni Angliae ad ipsius Ecclesiae unitatem et verae fidei confessionem ac Nostram et Romani Pontificis obedientiam reductione studium singulare Nos merito impellunt ut quae pro pace et tranquillitate ipsius Regni, apostolica auctoritate emanarunt Nostrae approbationis munimine roboremus. Dudum siquidem cum dilecti filii supremum Concilium eiusdem Regni Parliamentum nuncupatum Philippo Regi et Mariae Reginae praedictis per suos supplices libellos exposuissent quod antea perniciosissimo Schismate in eodem regno vigente temeritate ipsorum Parliamenti nonnulli episcopatus divisi et ex illis aliquae inferiores Ecclesiae in Cathedrales erectae et scholae ac hospitalia fundata necnon plurimae dispensationes et beneficiorum pro-

visiones factae fuerant: ac multae personae quibus persuasum extiterat iuris Canonici dispositiones in Regno praedicto amplius locum non habere, inter se in gradibus consanguinitatis vel affinitatis de iure prohibitis ac aliis canonicis impedimentis sibi obstantibus matrimonia per verba de praesenti contraxerant; et multi actus iudiciarii et processus tam in primis quam ulterioribus instantiis super rebus spiritualibus et ecclesiasticis coram iudicibus tam ordinariis quam delegatis auctoritate laicali procedentibus habiti et servati ac super eis, etiam sententiae latae et promulgatae, bonaque ecclesiastica per diversas eiusdem Regni personas occupata et apprehensa fuerant, quae omnia licet ex Sacrorum Canonum institutis irrita declarari possent, tamen si ad alium statum quam in quo tunc erant revocata fuissent, publica pax et quies universi Regni turbata et maxima confusio orta fuisset, praesertim si dictorum bonorum possessores molestati fuissent. Et propterea eisdem Philippo Regi et Mariae Reginae humiliter supplicassent ut apud dilectum filium Reginaldum Sauctae Mariae in Cosmedin Diaconum Cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, Nostrum et Apostolicae Sedis in praedicto Regno Legatum de latere intercedere dignarentur ut praemissarum rerum firmitate et stabilitate ac simul eiusdem Regni quieti et tranquillitate de benignitate Apostolica providere vellet; ac Venerabiles Fratres Nostri Episcopi et

dilecti filii clerus provinciae Cantuariensis totum fere corpus ecclesiasticum repraesentantes, ad quos huiusmodi bonorum ecclesiasticorum causa maxime pertinebat, exposuissent quod bona huiusmodi ad ius ecclesiarum revocari non poterant quin pax universalis et quies eiusdem Regni turbaretur et causa fidei atque unitatis Ecclesiae tunc temporis tanto omnium consensu in eodem Regno introducta in maximum periculum adduceretur; et propterea ipsi quoque dictis Philippo Regi et Mariae Reginae supplicassent ut apud ipsum Reginaldum Cardinalem et Legatum intercedere vellent ut in eisdem bonis ecclesiasticis possessoribus relaxandis restrictus et difficilis esse nollet. Ipsi autem Philippus Rex et Maria Regina ad quos maxime spectabat procedere ut Regnum eorum potestati regimini et curae commissum in pace et tranquillitate conservaretur, supplicationibus et postulatis huiusmodi cognitis et mature consideratis iudicassent ea omnia et maxime illa quae in bonorum ecclesiasticorum causa petebantur pro causa fidei et pace publica per ipsum Reginaldum Cardinalem et Legatum debere sine ulla dilatione concedi et propterea apud eundem Reginaldum Cardinalem et Legatum super praemissis omnibus intercessissent.

Praedictus Reginaldus Cardinalis et Legatus, qui illuc ut ipsum Regnum quod tamdiu ab Ecclesiae Catholicae Unitate separatum fuerat

Deo et Ecclesiae Christi eiusque in terris Vicario reconciliaret et ea omnia quae ad pacem et tranquillitatem ipsius Regni pertinerent omni studio procuraret missus fuerat, ut paci et tranquillitati Regni huiusmodi consuleret et unitas Ecclesiae ex qua salus tot animarum pretioso Christi sanguine redemptarum dependebat in eodem Regno iam introducta corroboraretur et salva permaneret cum utriusque rei stabilitatem in eo maxime consistere si dictorum bonorum ecclesiasticorum possessoribus quominus ea tenerent nulla molestia inferretur plura et quidem gravia testimonia fidem facerent et ipsorum Philippi Regis et Mariae Reginae qui pro unitate Ecclesiae et dictae Sedis auctoritate in praedicto regno instauranda tam studiose et pie elaboraverant, intercessio eam quam par erat auctoritatem apud dictum Reginaldum Cardinalem et Legatum haberet et ut universum Regnum praedictum maternam vere eiusdem Sedis indulgentiam et charitatem erga se agnosceret et re ipsa experiretur praedicta Auctoritate Apostolica qua per literas dictae Sedis sufficiente ad id facultate munitus in ea parte fungebatur per suas literas dispensavit quod omnes et singulae Cathedralium Ecclesiarum erectiones Hospitalium et Scholarum fundationes tempore praedicti Schismatis de facto et nulliter attentatae in eo statu in quo tunc erant perpetuo firmae et stabiles permanerent; illisque Apostolicae firmitatis robur

adiecit, ita ut non temeritate priori sed ea Auctoritate quam tunc ipse eis tribuebat factae ab omnibus censerentur; ac cum omnibus et singulis personis dicti Regni quae in aliquo consanguinitatis vel affinitatis gradu etiam multiplici vel cognationis spiritualis seu publicae honestatis iustitiae impedimento de iure positivo introductis et in quibus Romanus Pontifex dispensare consueverat, matrimonia scienter vel ignoranter de facto contraxissent ut aliquo impedimentorum huiusmodi non obstante in earum matrimoniis sic contractis libere et licite remanere seu illa de novo contrahere possent misericorditer in Domino dispensavit prolem susceptam et suscipiendam legitimam decernendo. Ita tamen ut qui scienter et maliciose contraxerant a sententia Excommunicationis et ab incestus seu sacrilegii reatu a suo Ordinario vel curato quibus id faciendi facultatem concessit, absolutionem obtinerent; ac cum compluribus ecclesiasticis saecularibus et diversorum ordinum regularibus personis quae diversas impetrationes dispensationes, gratias et indulta tam ordines quam beneficia ecclesiastica seu alias spirituales materias *concernentia* praetensa auctoritate Supremitatis Ecclesiae Anglicanae nulliter et de facto obtinuerant, et ad cor reversae Ecclesiae unitati restitutae fuerant, ut in suis ordinibus et beneficiis remanere possent, dispensavit et cum aliis simili morbo laborantibus se dispensaturum esse obtulit, ac omnes pro-

cessus in quibusvis instantiis coram quibuscumque iudicibus tam ordinariis quam delegatis etiam laicis super materiis spiritualibus habitos et formatos et sententias super eis latas quoad nullitatem ex defectu iurisdictionis insurgentem tantum sanavit illosque et illas Apostolica Auctoritate praedicta confirmavit ac quibusvis eiusdem Regni personis ad quorum manus bona ecclesiastica ex quocumque contractu seu titulo oneroso vel lucrativo iam devenissent illaque tenuissent seu etiam tunc tenerent omnes et quoscumque fructus ex iisdem bonis licet indebite perceptos in totum remisit et relaxavit, volens et decernens quod dictorum bonorum ecclesiasticorum tam mobilium quam immobilium possessores non possent tunc nec in posterum per conciliorum Generalium vel Provincialium dispositiones seu decretales Romanorum Pontificum epistolas aut quamcumque aliam censuram ecclesiasticam in dictis bonis seu illorum possessione molestari, inquietari vel perturbari nec eis aliquae censurae vel poenae ecclesiasticae propter huiusmodi detentionem seu non restitutionem irrogari vel infligi et sic per quoscumque iudices et auditores sublata eis quavis ali[ter] iudicandi et interpretandi facultate et auctoritate iudicari et definiri debere ac irritum et inane quidquid secus contingeret attentari prout in eisdem literis in quibus admonuit ad Romanum Pontificem recurrendum esse et ab eo suppliciter postulandum ut praemissa

confirmare seu de novo facere dignaretur, et eos qui res mobiles Ecclesiarum tenebant admonitos esse voluit ut severitatem Divini iudicii contra Balthasarem regem Babilonis qui vasa sacra non a se sed a patre et templo ablata in prophanos usus convertit, ante oculos habentes, ea si extarent propriis ecclesiis vel aliis restituerent; et hortatus [est] ac etiam per viscera misericordiae Iesu Christi obtestatus est omnes et singulos quos hoc tangebat ut salutis suae non omnino immemores, hoc saltem efficerent ut ex bonis ecclesiasticis maxime his quae ratione personatum et Vicariatum populi ministrorum sustentationi fuerant specialiter destinata seu Cathedralibus et aliis quae tunc extabant inferioribus ecclesiis curam animarum exercentibus ita provideretur ut earum pastores persone et vicarii commode et honeste iuxta earum qualitatem et statum sustentari et curam animarum laudabiliter exercere ac onera incumbentia congrue supportare possent plenius continetur.

Cum autem postmodum iidem Philippus Rex ac Maria Regina tres oratores suos, viros admodum insignes et omni virtute praeditos ad Nos destinaverint et per eos Nobis in consistorio Nostro publico coram Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris S. Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus et compluribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis aliisque ecclesiarum praelatis obedientiam praestiterint et successive Nobis

supplicari fecerint ut singulis dispensationibus, decretis, adiectioni, sanationi, remissioni, relaxationi et voluntati Reginaldi Cardinalis et Legati ac super illis confectis literis huiusmodi robur Nostrae approbationis adiicere aliisque in praemissis opportune providere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur.

Nos iudicantes reductionem Regni huiusmodi a qua tot animarum Pretiosissimo Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Sanguine redemptarum salus dependet, ac ipsius Regni in confessione verae Fidei et unitate Catholicae Ecclesiae pacem et tranquillitatem nullis terrenarum rerum affectibus perturbari debere; premissis omnibus cum nonnullis ex eisdem fratribus Nostris ipsius Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus propositis et diligenter discussis, habitaque desuper deliberatione matura singula dispensationes, decreta adiectionem, sanationem remissionem, relaxationem et voluntatem Reginaldi Cardinalis et Legati huiusmodi ac prout illa concernunt omnia et singula per eundem Reginaldum Cardinalem et Legatum in premissis gesta ac facta ac in eisdem literis contenta.

Ita tamen ut si qui ad ordines ecclesiasticos tam sacros quam non sacros ab alio quam episcopo aut Archiepiscopo rite et recte ordinato promoti fuerunt eosdem ordines ab eorum ordinario de novo suscipere teneantur, nec interim in iisdem ordinibus ministrent.

Praedicta auctoritate Apostolica ex certa scientia approbamus et confirmamus ac illis

plenum et perpetuum inviolabilis firmitatis robur adicimus, supplentes omnes et singulos iuris et facti defectus si qui forsan intervenerint in eisdem, eaque omnia valida et efficacia fore suosque plenarios effectus sortiri debere decernimus. Ut nihilominus pro potiori cautela cum his omnibus cum quibus idem Reginaldus Cardinalis et Legatus ut praefertur dispensavit modo et forma praedictis *Ita tamen ut ad ordines praedictos ab alio quam episcopo aut archiepiscopo ut praefertur ordinato promoti, ordines ipsos ut praemittitur, de novo suscipere teneantur et interim ut praefertur non ministrent*; eadem Apostolica auctoritate de specialis dono gratiae de novo dispensamus, ac ea omnia quae praedictus Reginaldus Cardinalis Legatus decrevit decernimus nec non omnibus his quibus ipse robur Apostolicae firmitatis adiecit Nos quoque robur ipsum adicimus, ac processus et sententias quos et quas ipse ut praefertur sanavit modo et forma praemissis sanamus fructusque ex eisdem bonis ecclesiasticis ut prefertur perceptos prout per ipsum Reginaldum Cardinalem et Legatum remissi et relaxati fuerunt personis quae illos perceperunt remittimus et relaxamus. Ac demum ea omnia quae idem Reginaldus Cardinalis et Legatus in eisdem literis voluit nos quoque volumus ac per eum ut praefertur admonitos admonemus aliosque et alia agimus et facimus quae et prout ipse in praedictis literis egisse

et fecisse dinoscitur non obstantibus felicis recordationis Pauli Papae II. praedecessoris Nostri de rebus ecclesiae non alienandis et quibusvis aliis Apostolicis ac in Provincialibus et Sinodalibus Conciliis editis specialibus vel generalibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus fundationibus quoque statutis et consuetudinibus etiam iuramento confirmatione Apostolica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque, &c. Nulli, &c., nostrae approbationis confirmationis adiectionis, suppletionis, decretorum, dispensationis, sanationis, concessionis, relaxationis, voluntatis admonitionis, actionis et factionis, &c. Siquis, &c.

Datum Romae apud S. Marcum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo quinto. Duodecimo[1] Kal. Iulii. Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

Barengus.
Jo. Larinen.
Fredericus Card. Cesius.

Declaratory Brief of Pope Paul IV.

Ad futuram Rei memoriam.

Regimini universalis ecclesiae meritis licet imparibus disponente Domino presidentes ad ea libenter intendimus per quae singulae personae ecclesasticae in ordinibus per eas

[1] Or Undecimo.

susceptis puro corde et sana conscientia ministrare possint. Dudum siquidem dilectus filius Reginaldus sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin diaconus Cardinalis Polus nuncupatus Nostrae et Apostolicae Sedis in Regno Angliae Legatus de latere cum compluribus ecclesiasticis saecularibus et diversorum ordinum regularibus personis quae diversas impetrationes dispensationes gratias et indulta tam ordines quam beneficia ecclesiastica, seu alias spirituales materias concernentia praetensa auctoritate supremitatis ecclesiae Anglicanae nulliter et de facto obtinuerant, et ad cor reversae ecclesiae unitati restitutae fuerint, ut in suis ordinibus et beneficiis remanere possent dispensasset, et cum aliis simili morbo laborantibus se dispensaturum esse obtulisset Nos singulas dispensationes huiusmodi ac prout illas concernebant omnia et singula per ipsum Reginaldum Cardinalem et Legatum in praemissis gesta et facta ac indesuper confectis ipsius Reginaldi Cardinalis et Legati literis contenta *ita tamen ut qui ad ordines tam sacros quam non sacros ab alio quam episcopo aut Archiepiscopo rite et recte ordinato promoti fuissent eosdem ordines ab eorum ordinario de novo suscipere tenerentur, nec interim in ipsis ordinibus ministrarent* per alias Nostras sub plumbo confectas literas approbavimus et confirmavimus, et cum his omnibus cum quibus dominus Reginaldus Cardinalis et Legatus ut praefertur dispensaverat modo et forma

praefatis *ita tamen ut ad ordines praedictos ab alio quam episcopo aut archiepiscopo ut praefertur ordinato promoti ordines ipsos ut praemittitur de novo suscipere tenerentur et interim ut praefertur non ministrarent* de specialis dono gratiae dispensavimus prout in singulis tam Nostris quam ipsius Reginaldi Cardinalis et Legati literis praedictis plenius continetur.

Cum autem sicut Nobis nuper innotuit a pluribus haesitetur qui episcopi et archiepiscopi schismate in ipso Regno vigente rite et recte ordinati dici possint, Nos haesitationem huiusmodi tollere et serenitati conscientiae eorum qui schismate praedicto durante ad ordines promoti fuerunt mentem et intentionem quam in eisdem litteris Nostris habuimus clarius exprimendo opportune consulere volentes, [*declaramus*] *eos tantum episcopos et archiepiscopos, qui non in forma ecclesiae ordinati et consecrati fuerunt rite et recte ordinatos dici non posse, et propterea personas ab eis ad ordines ipsos promotas ordines non recepisse, sed eosdem ordines a suo ordinario iuxta literarum nostrarum praedictarum continentiam et tenorem de novo suscipere debere et ad id teneri*: alios vero quibus ordines huiusmodi collati fuerunt ab episcopis et archiepiscopis in forma ecclesiae ordinatis et consecratis, licet ipsi episcopi et archiepiscopi schismatici fuerint, et ecclesias quibus praefuerint de manu quondam Henrici VIII,

et Eduardi VI. praetensorum Angliae Regum receperint, caracterem ordinum eis collatorum recepisse et solum executione ipsorum ordinum caruisse et propterea tam Nostram quam praedicti Reginaldi Cardinalis et Legati dispensationem eis concessam, eos ad executionem ordinum huiusmodi ita ut in eis etiam absque eo quod iuxta literarum nostrarum praedictarum tenorem ordines ipsos a suo ordinario de novo suscipiant libere ministrare possint plene habilitasse sicque ab omnibus censeri et per quoscumque quavis auctoritate fungentes iudicari debere ac si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari irritum et inane decernimus non obstantibus praemissis ac constitutionibus et ordinationibus apostolicis coeterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Dat. Romae apud S. Marcum, etc., die XXX. Octobris, 1555, anno primo.

Ja. Card. Puteus.

Minuta breve ordinata et potest expediri
Io. Bap. Dat.

Reprinted from The Tablet of Sept. 28, 1895.

APPENDIX XVII.

Dispensatio M. Askham.

Decanus et Capitulum ecclesie metropolitice Cant. custos sive Gardianus spiritualitatis eiusdem sede nunc vacante, dilecto nobis in Christo Anthonio Askham Rectori ecclesie parochialis de Methleghe dioc. Ebor. salutem.

Tecum ut postquam ordine subdiaconatus rite insignitus fueris ad sacros diaconatus et presbyteratus ordines tam infra quam extra tempora a iure statuta quocunque uno die dominico sive festivo a quo volueris catholico antistite executionem officii sui habente alias tamen rite promoveri et in eis postmodum ministrare libere et licite possis et valeas (dummodo etate natalibus moribus et scientia aliasque ad id habilis et idoneus fueris ac requisita alia adimpleveris) auctoritate predicta dispensamus Prefatoque antistiti eosdem ordines tibi ita conferendi licentiam concedimus et facultatem contrariis ordinationibus in aliquo non obstantibus.

Datum London sub nostro sigillo xv° die mensis Decembris a.d. 1553.

Nic. Wottonus Commiss. Ric'us Lyell Petrus Osborne dn̄e Regine ad facultates.

From Ridley's Ordination Book, f. 15^{v}.

APPENDIX XVIII.

Dispensation of Wilfrid Kyssen.

Reginaldus . . . episcopo Asaphen. seu eius in spiritualibus officiali generali salutem in domino sempiternam. Ex parte dilecti nobis in Christo Galfridi Kyssen presbiteri vestre dioc. nuper nobis expositum fuit quod ipse, vigenti alias hoc in regno perniciosissimo schismati consenciens, quo quidem durante iuris canonici disposiciones hoc in Regno amplius locum non habere plerisque persuasum fuerat, non obstante natalium defectu quem ex presbytero genitus et soluta patitur, et absque ulla desuper sedis apostolice dispensacione, ad omnes etiam sacros et presbyteratus ordines a schismatico in forma tamen ecclesiae consecrato episcopo et iuxta ecclesiae formam et alias rite et recte suscepit: . . .

X Kal. Iulii, 1557.

From the St. Asaph Register[1], *f.* 24.

[1] This is a mere fragment, containing some miscellaneous documents of the middle of the sixteenth century, mainly collations and Elizabethan ordinations. It was only when this book was on the brink of publication that I heard of the Register, and was able to see it through the kindness of the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

APPENDIX XIX.

THE following rough analysis of the Bonner Register only aims at giving some notes and references which may be of service to future students: to do more than this lies beyond the present scope. But it is much to be desired that a full and proper calendar should be printed of this and other London Registers: they are full of interest, both general and local.

It is to be noted that W. refers to Wilkins' *Concilia*, D. A. to Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*.

The dividing lines mark the chief divisions of quires in the MS.

ANALYSIS OF THE BONNER REGISTER.

f. I. Nov. 17, 1539.

HEADING OF BONNER'S REGISTER.

Formal documents from the Crown to the Bishop; from the Bishop to his officers.

III. June 12, 1540. Election, &c., of Dean Incent.

VIII. Series of documents.

(*a*) Commissions, testimonials, wills, mandates for Convocation, certificates of stipendiary clergy.

(*b*) Dealing with convicted clerks, heretics (Dr. Crome, f. xxv, ci; Barnes, Jerome, Gerard, xxxii; Wisdom, Becon, Singleton, xlvj; John Heywood, R°. Warde, Anne Askew, ci).

(*c*) Licences: to preach, for private chapel; of marriage, to eat meat; for midwives, of absence, letters dimissory, of orders.

(*d*) Leases, indentures, awards, monitions to the clergy, payments of tenths and subsidies.

Note also:

XIII. Memorandum of the Confirmation of Bonner. Nov. 11, 1539.

His Installation and Enthronement. Apr. 16, 1541.

X.–XIV. Statutes, &c., for the College of Guyhall (cp. lii).

XVII^{v}. Commission of inquiry on the Six Articles. (Cp. xxxvii, lxv, lxxxv, xc.)

XVIII. Grant of the Leper House at Mile End. March 8, 1540.

xix. Monition against unlicensed preachers. Oct. 22, 1540. (Wilk. iii. 855.)

xxi. Royal Writ as to English Bible. May 6, 1541. (W. iii. 856. Burnet, iv. 507.)

xxiv v. Monition of booksellers about prohibited books. July 22, 1541.

xxiv. Procession because of the drought. July 29, 1541.

xxv. Admonition, &c., to Readers of the English Bible. (W. iii. 863. Burnet, iv. 509.)

xxvi. Act for Abrogation of Holy Days and Decree. (W. iii. 823, 859. Cp. below, f. cclii.)

xxvii. Proclamation against sale of prohibited books. Nov. 16, 1538.

xxviii v. Proclamation concerning rites and ceremonies. Feb. 26, 1538. (W. iii. 842.)

xxix. Royal Injunctions of 1536. (W. iii. 813.)

xxix v. Royal Injunctions of 1538.

xxxii. Writ for the abolition of images. Oct. 1541. (W. iii. 857. Cp. below, f. ccl.)

xxxvi. The Circuite of Middlesex described.

xxxviii. Proclamation of the Council against heresies.

XXXIX. Bonner's Injunctions. (W. iii. 864 [omits a portion]. Burnet, iv. 510.)

XLII. Royal Proclamation about the extirpation of Papal jurisdiction. June 9, 1534. (W. iii. 772.)

XLII. Collection for war against the Turks (cp. xl). June 30, July 19, 1542. (Cp. below, f. cclv.)

XLV. Writ as to Procession for Rain. Aug. 20, 1543. (W. iii. 868. Cp. below, f. ccliv.)

XLVII. *Synodalia pasche* for Essex.

LIII. Proclamation about white meats. Feb. 9, 1542. (W. iii. 867. Cp. below, f. cclvii[a].)

LX. Archbishop's Mandate and Royal Letters about the Litany in English. June 11, 1544. (W. iii. 869. Cp. below, f. cclviii.)

LXX. Mandate and Letters for a General Procession for the safety of the Realm. Aug. 10, 1545. (Cp. below, f. cclxi.)

XCI. Royal Proclamation against heretical books with certificate and list. July 8, 1546. (W. iv. 1 [not fully given].)

XCIII. Consecration of Henry Man as Bishop of Sodor. Feb. 14, 1545.

XCIV. William May to be Dean. Feb. 15, 1545.

C. Submission of Shaxton, late Bishop of Sarum. (Burnet, iv. 531.)

CIIv. *Edwardus Rex.* Commissions, &c. (Cp. W. iv. 2, 14. D. A. 1.)

CX. Mandate and letter for abolition of images. Feb. 21, 1547. (W. iv. 22. D. A. ix.)

CX. Letter to abolish ceremonies. Jan. 27, 1547. (W. iv. 22, 30. D. A. viii. Cp. below, f. cclxvii.)

CXI. Proclamation against innovations. Feb. 6, 1547. (W. iv. 21. D. A. vii.)

CXI. Letter of Council about sale of ornaments. Oct. 17, 1547. (W. iv. 17. Cp. below, f. cclxvii.)

Letter of the Council about Communion in both kinds. March 11, 1547. (W. iv. 31. D. A. xiv.)

CXII. Letter of the Council about sale of church goods. April 30, 1548.

Letter of the Council for Public Prayer for victory and peace. Feb. 10, 1548. (W. iv. 26.)

CXIV. Commission to execute the Statute *super articulos fidei.* Apr. 13, 1547.

CXXI. Writ as to the Commissioners for Chantries. Feb. 13, 1545.

CXXX. INSTITUTIONS from Nov. 1539 to Sept. 24, 1549, and from Feb. 18, $15\frac{4}{5}\frac{9}{0}$, to March 28, 1550, by authority of the Archbishop. Cp. Cranmer, *Reg.* f. 117^{v}.

CXXXI. Memorandum inserted as to Bonner's consecration.

CLXVIII. Letter of Council about Masses in St. Paul's. (Cp. f. ccxviii.) (D. A. xvi. Foxe, v. 723.)

CLXX. ORDINATIONS, 1540–1548.

CLXXVIII–CCXVII^{v}. WILLS.

CCXIX. Royal Letter as to Communion. July 23, 1549. (W. iv. 35. D. A. xvii. Cp. below, f. cclxxi^{v}.)

CCXX.–CCXLI. The Trial of Bonner. (D. A. xviii, xix. Foxe, v. 729 and ff.)

CCXLII. HEADING OF THE REGISTER OF THOMAS THIRLBY, BISHOP OF WESTMINSTER, Feb. 7, 1540.

INSTITUTIONS to Feb. 2, $15\frac{4}{5}\frac{9}{0}$.

CCXLVIII. Royal order for the formation of the bishopric. Dec. 17, 1540, followed by a series of documents, diocesan and general.

Note also:

CCXLIX. Commission for Royal Visitation (inserted later on blank). Aug. 10, 1547.

CCL. Mandate for an inquiry into the observation of the Royal injunctions. Aug. 31, 1541.

CCLIV. Indictment of John Athee for heresy.

CCLVI. Return of the Incomes of the Abbey of Westminster.

CCLX. Acts of Thirlby's consecration. Dec. 19, 1541.

CCLXIV. *Edwardus Rex.* Formal documents.

CCLXIV^{v}. Prayers on the Scotch victory. Sept. 18, 1547.

CCLXV^{v}. Royal Injunctions to the Bishop at his visitation. Aug. 29, 1547. (Summary in D. A. iii. W. iv. 9.)

Royal Injunctions to the Commissioners. Sept. 3, 1547.

CCLXX. Relaxation of the jurisdiction of the Royal Commissioners. Sept. 12, 1547.

CCLXXII. Royal Order for the abolition of the old service-books. Dec. 25, 1549. (W. iv. 37. D. A. xx.)

CCLXXIII. Memorandum of the dissolution of the see of Westminster. Apr. 1, 1550.

Royal visitation articles.
(Partly given at D. A. p. 23.)

CCLXXIV. Proclamation for the Lent fast. Jan. 16, 1547. (W. iv. 20. D. A. vi.)

CCLXXVI. HEADING OF RIDLEY'S REGISTER. Apr. 15, 1550.

Formal Documents. Diocesan and general.

Note especially:

CCLXXXI[v]. Letter of the Council to stop lectures. June 23, 1550. (W. iv. 62. D. A. xxii.)

CCLXXXII. Royal Letter for Hooper's consecration. Aug. 5, 1550. (W. iv. 65.)

CCLXXXVII. Royal Order for the destruction of altars, with appendix of *Reasons why God's borde should be a table not an altar* (cp. f. cclxxv). (W. iv. 65. D. A. xxiv. Foxe, vi. 5.)

CCLXXXIX. Bishop's Letter to his preachers. July 25, 1551. (Burnet, v. 346.)

CCLXXXIX. Royal Letter about rebels. May 17, 1551. (W. iv. 68.)

CCXCII. Commissioners for Church Goods' Letter to Bishop. July 9, 1552.

CCXCIV. Royal Letter for handing over Church linen to Christ's Hospital. Jan. 8, 1552.

CCXCVII. Mandate as to Articles and Catechism. June 9, 1554. (Burnet, vi. 208 Cp. W. iv. 73.)

CCCI^{v}. Royal Injunctions of 1547. (D. A. ii. to p. 23.)

CCCIV^{v}. Ridley's Visitation Articles. (Given (not fully) in W. iv. 60 and D. A. xxi.)

CCCVII.–CCCXVIII. INSTITUTIONS, &c. April 15, 1550, to July 22, 1553.

CCCXIX.–CCCXXII. ORDINATIONS. Last leaf blank.

CCCXXIII. BONNER'S RESTORATION. 1553. Series of documents. Diocesan and general.

Note especially:

CCCXXXIII. Sentence of restoration read Sept. 5, 1553.

CCCXXXVII. Proceedings in Convocation. Feb. to May. (Cp. W. iv. 94. Foxe, vi. 411, 433.)

CCCXLI. Monition about Lent duties. Feb. 24, 1553. (W. iv. 115. D. A. xxxvi. Foxe, vi. 426.)

CCCXLII. Royal Letter and Articles. March, 1553. (W. iv. 88. D. A. xxx.)

CCCXLIII^{v}. Royal Letter about pensions of monks and chantry priests (cp. f. ccclxii). March 18, 1553.

CCCXLIV. Procession and prayer for the scarcity. June 13, 1554.

CCCXLIV^{v}. Writ as to the style of Philip and Mary. Aug. 6, 1554. (Cp. Rymer, xv. 404.)

CCCXLV. Mandate for provision of Church Ornaments. March 8, 1553. (W. iv. 90. D. A. xxxi.)

CCCXLV^{v}. Commission for Sequestration of married priests. March 10, 1553. (Appendix III above.)

CCCXLVI. Form of Preacher's Licence, Royal and Episcopal. (See Collier, *Records*, lxviii. bis.)

See Appendices IV, V. IX, X, above.

Rehabilitation of Scory. (*De Hierarchia*, p. 149. Burnet, v. 389.)

CCCXLVIII. Statutes of the Waterbearers' Society.

CCCLVII. Mandate about writings on Church Walls. Oct. 25, 1554. (In Latin; cp. W. iv. 108. D. A. xxxiv.)

CCCLVIII. Letter of Privy Council about the obsequies of the Pope, with special Mass. April 10, 1555.

Procession and prayer for the Queen's delivery. Nov. 27, 1554. (Cp. W. iv. 109. Foxe, vi. 567.)

CCCLIX^{v}. Pole's *Facultates pro episcopis.* iv Kal. Feb. 1555. (W. iv. 136. Burnet, vi. 361.)

CCCLXIII. Royal Letter for dealing with heretics. May 24, 1554. (W. iv. 102. Burnet, v. 429.)

CCCLXIII. Order of Council for prayers about the Conclusion of Peace and Election to the Papacy. May 23, 1555. (W. iv. 128.)

CCCLXIII^{v}. Act of Parliament for the transfer of the See of Westminster.

CCCLXV^{v}. Bonner's Visitation Articles. (W. iv. 105. D. A. xxxiii. Burnet, v. 393.)

CCCLXXI. Letter of Council as to execution of three unnamed heretics. July 9, 1555.

CCCLXXI. Form of Restoration of a married priest. July 5, 1555. (Appendix XV.)

CCCLXXII. Articles to the Archdeacons for instruction of the clergy as to the Reconciliation.

CCCLXXII. Declaration to the laity on the Reconciliation. Feb. 19, 1554. (W. iv. 114. D. A. xxxv.)

CCCLXXIII. Royal concessions as to the Bishop's lands. March 2, 3, 1553.

CCCLXXXI. Election of Feckenham as Dean. March 12, 1553.

CCCXCI. Convocation. Oct. 18, 1555.

CCCXCIV. Pole's summons to Provincial Council. Nov. 10, 1555. (W. iv. 131.)

CCCXCVI. Bull *Ab inicio pontificatus* about prayers for peace, and schedule of instructions. viii Id March, 1555. (Partly in W. iv. 143.)

CCCCXVIII. Transumpte of the Jubylye in Latin, i. e. Indulgence of Paul IV. Id. July, 1555. (Collier, vi. 118.)

CCCXCIX^{v}. Indulgence of Julius III. *Cum ex veteri.* xiv Kal. Nov. 1553.

CCCC. Ridley's concession of episcopal manors to the Crown. April 12, 1550.

CCCCI. Bishop's Commission about heretics in Essex. (W. iv. 152.)

CCCCII. Royal Letter against sedition, &c. Aug. 18, 1553. (W. iv. 86. D. A. xxviii.) Pole's Indulgence to eat butter, &c. in Lent. v Kal. March, 1555.

CCCCIII. Proclamation of the Lord Mayor against the profanation of St. Paul's. N. D.

Bishop's order about processions in parishes. July 1, 1556.

CCCCIII^{v}. Injunctions to the Dean and Chapter with reference to the Visitation of St. Paul's. Oct. 8, 1555.

CCCCVII. Bishop's consent to the restoration of Westminster as a monastic church. Sept. 25, 1556.

CCCCVIII. Bishop's mandate for prayers and thanksgiving for the Reconciliation of the Realm. Nov. 4, 1556.

Mandate to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, to exhume and eject the body of Peter Martyr's wife. Nov. 7, 1557.

CCCCIX. Transumpte of Pole's Writing to the Bishops about confessionals, altars, licences, white meats, &c.

vi Id. Jan. $155\frac{6}{7}$. (W. iv. 148.)

With Declaration of the Preacher at Poules about the above. Feb. 28, 1556.

CCCCXII. Letter of Pole on the Lent Fast. Kal. Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$.

CCCCXVIII^{v}. Archbishop's mandate for prayers for the Church. July 20, 1557. (W. iv. 153.)

CCCCXIX. Orders and injunctions of the Bishops and other Commissaries for the repression of heresies. April 2, 1557.

CCCCXXI. Bull of Paul IV against Cranmer. *Dudum per.* xix Kal. Jan. 1555. (W. iv. 132.)
Followed by an account of the proceedings at Oxford and Cranmer's Recantation. (Cp. Foxe.)

CCCCXXIV. Letter of Council about the victory over the French. Aug. 14, 1557.
Pole's Prorogation of the Synod. iii Kal. Apr. 1557. (W. iv. 151.)

CCCCXXV. Royal Commission against heretical books. Feb. 8, 1557.

CCCCXXVI. Acts of the appointment of Henry Cole as Dean. (Cp. inserted quire at f. ccccxli.)

CCCCXXXIX. Letter of Pole and Article about Tenths. April 1, 1558. (W. iv. 175.)

CCCCXLVIII. INSTITUTIONS from Sept. 13, 1553, up to May 6, 1559. Then by Commissioners till Dec. 8, 1559.

APPENDIX XX.

List of Marian Ordinands.

The following is a rough list of clergy ordained under Mary: the dioceses from whose Registers they are drawn are London, Oxford, Exeter, Chester, Durham.

The earliest of the orders conferred alone is given, unless the orders were conferred in different dioceses, then the earliest entry of order conferred in each diocese is given. The initial letters are used to indicate the grade. The titles are given in most cases where it is possible, especially when it seemed to locate the man in one particular place.

The orders conferred by Marian Bishops in the early days of Elizabeth are not given here: the pontifical ordinations went on in the dioceses of London, Durham, and Chester for some time, but as the main object of this list is to facilitate inquiry into reordinations, and reordinations had long ceased, it seemed natural to draw a line at the end of Mary's reign and close this list there.

It is also to be remarked that the list does not include a body of men who, to the number of about 100, were ordained Benet (or Exorcist) at Oxford, on August 30, 1556, by the Bishop of Gloucester, at Christ Church, while four and

twenty of these were at the same time ordained Acolyte; but only those in this list are taken into account who were subsequently promoted to higher orders: these (like others who are first recorded as receiving that grade) are here entered with the initial B.

Abbot, Ric., Carl. of Queen's . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1555
Abney, Ric., M.A., Cov. and L., fel. of Jesus, Camb. . . . . A. Lond., Sept. 1554
Adamson, Wm., Dunelm., fel. of Pembroke, Camb. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. 1557
Adcock, Wm. . . . . D. Dunelm., Sept. 1556
Addison, John. See above, p. 213.
Aldridge, Ric., Oxon. (Ermesfold) . { S.D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$ / D. Oxon., Apr. 1557
Allen, Hen. (Fobbing) . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Thos., sch. of Merton . . . A. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$
Alynne, Thos., M.A., stud. of Lincoln . A. Oxf., Dec. 1557?
Allwood, John, Cov. and L. dim. . . P. Oxon., Sept. 1556
Amable, John, Linc. (Partney) . . D. Lond., June 1557
Anderson, Anth. (*alias* Eastneye), O.S.B. Westm. . . . . O. Lond., Mar. 1556
Anderton, Chris., Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Anderton, Thurstan, Cestr. . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Andleser, Edw., M.A., stud. of Christ Church . . . . . S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1557
Andrewe, Ric. (Feasby, Ebor.) . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$
Andrewes, Thos., sch. of B.N.C. . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Anson, John, Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$
Anthony, John, O.P. at West Smithfield . S.D. Lond., June 1558
Ap David ap Rice, Hugh, Assav. . . S.D. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Ap Hugh, Wm., Bangor . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1555
———— David, Bangor . . . . P. Oxf., Sept. 1557
Ap John, Ro., Bangor, dim. . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Ap Lewis, Ric., Assav. dim. . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Ap Newell, Ric., Herf. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{5}{6}$
Ap Rice, David, Assav. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558
———— John, Assav. (Rewedge, Merioneth) . . . . . { S.D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{9}{0}$ / D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
———— John, Assav. dim. . . . D. Cestr., Sept. 1555
———— Lewis, Assav. (Coston) . { T. Lond., Sept. 1557 / D. Oxf., Dec. 1557

Ap Richard, Humph., Bangor (Llanbilay) S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1554
——— John, Bangor . . . { A. Oxf., Mar. 1554 / S.D. Lond., Apr. 1555
——— John, Assav. dim. . . . P. Cestr., Sept. 1555
——— Morgan, Bangor, dim. . . P. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Araye, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Dunelm., Apr. 1556
Armestead, Ric., B.A., fel. of Jesus, Camb. . . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Arscot, Nich. See above, p. 210.
Arshall, Thos., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Ashbrooke, Jo., fel. of B.N.C. . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Askham, Anth. See above, p. 218.
Aspinall, Nich., Cestr. (Clithero) . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Athee, Arth., Cant., O.S.B. Westm. . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
Atkinson, Anth., B.A., fel. of Magdalen, Oxf. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Thos., M.A., fel. of Trinity, Camb. . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Thos., M.A., Ebor., fel. of Lincoln { A. Oxf., Sept. 1555 / S.D. Lond., Dec. 1555
—— Wm., Ebor., fel. of St. John's, Camb. D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Atkyns, Anth., M.A., fel. of Merton . D. Oxf., Dec. 1557
Atwey, Geo., Carl. of Christ Church . T. Lond., Feb. 1553

Babington, Fras., M.A., Cov. and L., fel. of All Souls . . . . . P. Lond., Dec. 1556
—— Fras., M.A., fel. of St. John's, Camb. (V. Aldworth) . . . . . P. Lond., Dec. 1557
Backster, John, Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Bagshaw, Edw., M.A., fel. of All Souls . A. Oxf., Aug. 1556
Baker, Lawr., Petrib. (Northampton) . T. Lond., Dec. 1554
Balcaskye, John, Brichen (Addingham) S.D. Lond., Mar. 1557
Balderston, Chris. (R. Bourn Elien.) . T. Lond., Sept. 1553
Banke, Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Barber, Edm., Cov. and L. . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Barker, Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
—— Thos., Linc. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
—— Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
—— Wm. (V. Langdon) . . . . A. Lond., Mar. 1558
Barloo, Walter, Cov. and L. (Mesam, Derbyshire) . . . . . D. Lond., Feb. 1555
Barlowe, Hen., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Barneby, Jerome, Sarum . . . A. Oxf., Mar. 1554
Barnes, Will., M.A., stud. of Christ Church . . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
—— Thos. . . . . B. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— Ric., M.A., Cestr., fel. of B.N.C. . S.D. Lond., June 1558
Barret, Geo., Herf. . . . . T. Lond., June 1558

Barro, Anth. S.D.Dunelm,Mar.1555
Barwick, Jo., sch. of Magdalen, Oxf., fel. of Christ Church . . { A. Oxf., Mar. 155⅝ / D. Lond., Mar. 1555
Bate, Mich., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1558
Bateman, John, M.A., fel. of Gunwell Hall . . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Battie, Mich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Bawtersby, Wm., Dunelm., fel. of Christ's D. Lond., June 1557
Bayly, Thos., M.A., fel. of Clare . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Bayn, Geo., Cestr. . . . . A. Dunelm., 1557
Bayts, Edw. . . . . D. Dunelm, Mar. 1555
Baxter. See Backster.
—— John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Bede, Ric. . . . . T. Exon., Mar. 1553
Bekerstaff, Jo., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Bellard, Thos., Ebor., sch. of Christ's . T. Lond., Mar. 155⅛
Benet, Ric. See above, p. 213.
—— Thos., fel. of Lincoln . . . A. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Benford, Gilb., Christ Church . . A. Oxf., Mar. 155¾
Benger, Fras., Bristoll., fel. of Exeter { A. Oxf., Apr. 1558 / A. Lond., Sept. 1558? / S.D. Lond., Dec. 1558
Benson, Jo., Cestr. . . . . P. Dunelm., Apr. 1556
Beriche, Hen., Petrib. (Harringworth) . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
Betson, Thos., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Bewley, John, Carl. . . . . T. Oxf., Mar. 155⅞
—— Thos., Carl., Preb. of Chichester . S.D. Lond., Apr. 1557
Birch. See Byrche.
Birket. See Byrket.
Birnam, Osm. . . . . B. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Blackhead, Ric., Linc. (Syon Monastery) P. Lond., June 1558
Bolton, Leon., Ebor. (Barwick) . . T. Lond., Mar. 155⅛
Boston, Ric., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1558
Boswell, John, M.A., Ebor. (Blofield, Norw.) T. Lond., Sept. 1554
—— Thos., M.A. (V. Great Budworth, Cestr.) . . . . . O. Lond., Dec. 1553
Boughton, Edw., M.A., Roffen, fel. of Corpus, Oxf. . . . . B. Oxf., Aug. 1556
Bower, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Bowling, Edw., Ebor. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Boxoll, John, M.A., fel. of New Coll. { All Orders, / Lond., June 1554
Boyes, Wm. (Rr. Wishaw, Warw.). . A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Brabenor, Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Bradshae, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— Robt., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558

Bradshaw, Thos., M.A., fel. of B.N.C. . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Bradwyn, Chas. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$
Brampston, Thos., Cant., O.S.B. Westm. B. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{6}{7}$
Bratt, Nich., Cov. and L. . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Brekell, Hugh, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Easter 1558
Bride, Edw., Carl., dim. . . . . P. Cestr., June 1557
Briggs, Ric., Linc. . . . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1556
Bromley, Geo., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Browne, Edm., Ebor. . . . . D. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$
—— Robt., Ebor., New Coll. . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— Thos. (V. Knapton, Norw.) . . T. Lond., Dec. 1556
Brydges, Wm. See above, p. 216.
Bulcoke, Thos., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Bullingham, John, fel. of Magdalen, Oxf. T. Lond., May 1554
Bullock, Geo., M.A., fel. of St. John's, Camb. . . . . O. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Maur., fel. of New Coll. . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— Wm., Cestr. (Kirtlington, Cambs.) . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Burbank, Thos., Carl., sch. of Queen's, Oxf. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Burgis, Thos., M.A., Linc. (concionator in dioc. Cant.) . . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1557; S.D. Lond., Dec. 1557
Burrows, Thos., M.A., fel. of Benet . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Burton, Ric., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Byddall, John, B.A., fel. of Peterhouse . S.D. Lond., Feb. 1553
Byrche, Geo., sch. of B.N.C. . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— Robt., chapl. of New Coll. . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Byrket, Ric. . . . . S.D. Dunelm., Dec. 1556
Byrry, Geo., Cestr., sch. of Christ's . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$

Caponhurst, Geo., M.A., fel. of Magdalen, Oxf. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Carleton, Wm. (title is two mills at Staines) . . . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. 1558
Carlett, Mich., Cath. Hall (Felteham?, Norw.) . . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Carnland, Barn., Meden. . . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1555
Carter, John . . . . . B. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— Ric., fel. of Clare . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
Cartwright, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Cavell, Wm., B.A. (Dunsland, Devon) . A.&S.D. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$
Chamber, Edw., M.A., stud. of Christ Church . . . . . A.&S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1554; P. Lond., May 1556
—— Thos. (R. Bradwell) . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1553
Chamberlain, Wm., B.A., Magdalen, Oxf. D. Oxf., Sept. 1555
Chanteler, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557

Chapman, Thos., Cov. and L., fel. of Clare . . . . . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Chasse, Thos., Exon., sch. of Corpus, Oxf. A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Chatterton, Wm., Cestr. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
Cheshunt, St. (Preb. of Sarum) . . T. Lond., Sept. 1553
Christopher, John, Cov. and L. (Nuneaton, Athilborough) . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Christopherson, Jas., M.A., master of Trin. Coll., Camb. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— John, Cov. and L. . . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Churchman, Wm., Herf., dim. . . P. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Chylde, Reg., Exeter Coll. (Sarum, dim.) S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1556
Clapam, Hen., Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., June 1558
Claxton, Robt. (Greatham Hosp.) . . S.D. Dunelm., 1557
Clayton, James. See above, p. 184.
—— Hen., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
—— Peter, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
—— Roger, Ebor. (V. Machyng?) . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Thos., B.A., fel. of Christ's . . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Clerke, Robt., Petrib. (Hosp., Northampton) . . . . . D. Lond., Dec. 1557
—— Thos., Cov. and L. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{8}{7}$
—— Thos., B. and Wells, O.S.B. Westm. D. Lond., Apr. 1557
Cloughe, Thos., Ebor., fel. of Christ's . T. Lond., Dec. 1554
Clowdesley, Peter, sch. of New Coll. . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Clynton, Guido, Herf. dim. . . . D. Oxf., June 1557
Coke, Edw., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Collingwood, Wm., Linc. . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Collinson, Ph., B.A., Linc. (Hartwell, Northants) . . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1557; D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Colwich, Wilf. (Cunsall, Staffs.) . . S.D. Lond., June 1555
Colyer, Thos., M.A., Cov. and L. (chaplain to Bonner) . . . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1555
Compton, Nich., Linc. (Missenden, Bucks) S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Cooke, Ric., Dunelm. (Preb. of Wells) . S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
—— Wm., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Wm., LL.B. (R. Mottisfont) . . S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Copinger. See Gardiner.
Corbye, Wm. (V. Long Toft, Lincs.) . S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{8}{7}$
Cordall, Guthlac, Lond., fel. of King's . O. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Corndon, Wm., fel. of Exeter . . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Cornwall, Hen., Lond. . . . . P. Lond., Sept. 1558
Corpp, Wm., Cov. and L. . . . D. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Cottysmore, Thos. (R. Ponyngs?) . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1553
Cowll, Leon. See above, p. 218.
Cowlton, Ralph, fel. of Cath. Hall . . P. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{8}{7}$

Cowper, Wm., Cov. and L., dim. . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1552
—— Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Coxe, Wm., Linc. (Leckhampstead, Bucks) D. Lond., Mar. 1557
Coxson, Robt., B.A., Queen's, Oxf. . . S.D. Oxf., Mar. 1557
Craggs, John, Ebor., sch. of St. John's, Camb. . . . . S.D. Lond., Apr. 1557
Crane, Hen., Exon. (R. Withiel) . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Crateford, Edw., M.A., Herfs., Christ Church . . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1554
Craven, Hen., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Crechlowe, Critchley, } John, Cestr. . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Croft, Vinc., Cestr. . . . . A. Dunelm., 1557
Crosse, Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Croste, Gilb. (R. Ludgers Hall) . . P. Oxf., Mar. 1553/4

Dakers, Hen., Carl., sch. of Christ's . T. Lond., Apr. 1556
Dalby, Wm., M.A., fel. of New Coll. . S.D. Oxf., May 1556
Dale, Wilf., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Danold, Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Danyell, Reg., fel. of Exeter . . . S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1553
Darbyshire, Thos. (Preb. of St. Paul's, R. Hackney) . . . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. 1555/6
Daveson, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Davyes, Thos., Bangor . . . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1555
Dawson, Matt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
—— Thos., Carl. . . . . A. Dunelm., Mar. 1556/7
Debanke, Robt., Cov. and Lich. . S.D. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Dee, John . . . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Degge, Thos., M.A., fel. of Peterhouse. See above, p. 203. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. 1557/8
Denman, John, Roffen . . . . D. Lond., June 1557
Derwen, Jas., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Dickinson, Thos., A.B. (Blandeston, Suff.) T. Lond., May 1554
Digby, Humphr., Linc. . . . . T. Lond., June 1557
Dixon, Thos. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 1553/4
Dolbar, John, M.A., fel. of Corpus, Oxf. { A. Exon., May 1554 / D. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Dorington, Fras., Cov. and L., fel. of Cath. Hall. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. 1557/8
Dotyn, Hen., Exon., fel. of Exeter (R. Whitestone) . . . . . S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Douglas. See Duglas.
Dowlman, Alban, Lond., sch. of Trin. Coll., Camb. . . . . A. Lond., Mar. 1557/8
Draxe, John (Darfield, Yorks.) . . { All orders, / Lond., Oct. 1554

Ducke, Wm., Christ Church . . . A. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{3}{4}$
Duglas, Anth., Carl. . . . . D. Dunelm., 1557
Dukkeson, Hen., Cestr. (Brynne, Lancs.) S.D. Lond., Sept. 1554
Dybanke, John, sch. of St. John's, Camb. T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{3}{4}$
Dycher, John, Cov. and L. (V. Shawbury, Salop) . . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1554; S.D. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Dylcoke, Hen., Oxon., Magd. Coll., Oxf. S.D. Lond., Feb. 1555
Dylworth, Thos., Cestr. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Dyrham, John, Ebor. . . . . P. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$

Eastneye. See Anderson.
Ebden. Thos. (*alias* Matthewe) O.S.B. Westm. . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
Edell, Ric., M.A., Carl., fel. of Jesus, Camb. T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Edmonds, Robt., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 1558
—— Thos., Lond., Friar Observant . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Egres, John, Lond. (O.S.B. Westm.) . O. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Einmolt, Wm., Cestr., fel. of B.N.C. . A. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Elcocke, Nich., M.A., fel. of Christ Church B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Elger, Mich., Cant., Legendarius in the Cathedral . . . . . P. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Elizon, Geo., Master of Univ. . . . A. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{3}{4}$
Elmes, John, Cestr. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Ely, Wm., M.A., fel. of B.N.C. . . T. Lond., Sept. 1553
Emott, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
—— Wm., B.A., fel. of B.N.C. . . D. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Estwich, John, Cestr., Preb. St. David's A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Evan, Maur., Assav. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— Roger, M.A., Exon., fel. of Trin., Oxf. P. Oxf., Dec. 1557
Evans, John, B.A., fel. of All Souls . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
—— Lewis, M.A., Assav., stud. of Christ Church . . . . . S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1557
—— Morgan, Menev., Linc. . . . S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1554
—— Rich., Herf., sch. of Univ. . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
—— Thos. See Jevans.
—— See Swan.
Evatt, Thos., Linc. (Pickering) . . D. Lond., Sept. 1558
Eyre, Hen., Cov. and L., dim. . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Eyton, Matth., Linc., dim. . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
—— Rich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558

Fairclogh, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1552
Fanne, Wm., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{8}{7}$
Farraby, Chr., Dunelm. . . . . D. Dunelm., 1557
Fayrchyld, Wm., M.A., Linc. . . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
Featherstonehaugh, Geo. . . . D. Dunelm., 1557

Feckenham, Wm. (*alias* Wyborne) O.S.B. Westm. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 23, 1557
Fellow, Miles, O.P. Westsmithfield . S.D. Lond., Sept. 1558
Fern, John, Cant., O.S.B. Westm. . . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
Fisher, John, Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— Robt., Ebor. (Stow Longa Elien) . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
Fitzwater, Chr., Cant., fel. of King's . O. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Flear, Baldwin, of All Souls . . . T. Exon., Feb. 1553
Flemyng, Hen., Cov. and L. dim. . . S.D. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Forde, John . . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1556
Forster, Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Forthwitt, Fras., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1557
Foster, Geo., Minor Canon of Cant. . P. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Thos., Lond. . . . . O. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Founteney, Martin (O.S.B. Westm.) . O. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Fowks, John, Christ Church . . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Fowler, Edw., Glouc. (V. Stonehouse) . S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1556
—— Peter, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Fox, Ralph, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
—— Ric., Cov. and L. dim. . . { S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$ / D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
—— Steph., Friar Observant, Greenwich T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Foxley, John, Cestr., dim. . . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1556
Franke, John, Bath and W. (Taunton) . D. Lond., June 1554
Frankysh, Robt., Linc., dim. . . . D. Oxf., Feb. $155\frac{3}{4}$
Freman, Robt., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1558
Frynde, Thos., M.A., fel. of New Coll. . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Fuller, Geo., B.A., Elien . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Fux, John, M.A., fel. of Linc. . . S.D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Fylde, John, Oxon., fel. of Linc. . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1556
Fysther, Ric., Lond., O.S.B. Westm. . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Fythyon, Wm., Cestr. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554

Gage, John (Cussir, Essex) . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1556
Gardyner, Geo., Dunelm., fel. of Queens', Camb. . . . . P. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Wm. (*alias* Copinger) O.S.B. . . A. Lond., Dec. 1557
Garnet, Anth., M.A., fel. of Balliol . A. Oxf., Feb. $155\frac{5}{6}$
Garside, Fras., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Gayer, Hen. . . . . A. Exon., July 1554
Gelebronde, Nich., Cestr. . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Gerard, Wm., Cestr. (Brynne, Lanc.) . T. Lond., Sept. 1555
Geste, Jas., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Gibson, Wm., Cov. and L. . . . S.D. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Glastocke, Wm., Lond. (Scholes, Yorks.) T. Lond., June 1555
Glover, John, Linc. (Farnbridge, Essex). S.D. Lond., Dec. 1555

Godsalve, Edw., M.A., fel. of Trin., Camb. . . . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1553
Golding, Wm., M.A., Norw., fel. of Trin., Camb. . . . . P. Lond., Apr. 1558
Good, Wm., M.A., fel. of Corpus, Oxf. . A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Gowburn (Golbron), Percy, Cestr. . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Gray, Wm. . . . . D. Dunelm., Mar. $155\frac{5}{6}$
Gregorie, Rich., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Grene, Nich., Linc., chapl. of Exeter Coll. D. Oxf., Feb. $155\frac{3}{4}$
—— Thos., Cestr. . . . . S.D.Cestr.,Easter 1555
Greneld, Miles, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Gressepp, Thos., sch. of All Souls . . A. Oxf., June 1557
Griffith, Geo., Archd. of Anglesea . { A. Oxf., Dec. 1554 / P. Lond., Apr. 1555
—— Humph., Bang. . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1555
—— John, Bang. (Bungay) . . . T. Lond., Feb. $155\frac{3}{4}$
—— John, LL.B., fel. of All Souls (R. Clayhidon, Devon) . . . { A. & D. Oxf., Sept. 2, 1554
—— Rich., LL.B., stud. of All Souls . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Grose, John. See above, p. 216.
Groull, Rich. . . . . D. Dunelm., 1557
Grundye, Roger, Cestr., O.S.B. Westm. . O. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Gybs, Simon, M.A., fel. of Benet . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Gyles, Lawr., Cov. and L. . . . T. Lond., June 1557

Haberleye, John, Herf., dim. . . . P. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Hackney, Ric., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1558
Hall, Fras., Ebor. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Hugh, Cov. and L., dim. (Luton) { A. Oxf., Dec. 1554 / P. Lond., Mar. 1555
—— Humph., LL.B., Herf., fel. of All Souls . . . . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
—— John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Halmont, Robt., Winton . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Halsall, Cuthb., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Hanadyne, Thos., sch. of Peterhouse (Fenstanton) . . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
Hancock, Robt., Cestr. . . . . D. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Harbottle, John, Cov. and L., dim. . D. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Hardyng, Thos., B.D., sub-warden of New Coll. (see p. 119) . . { A.&S.D.Oxf.,May 1554 / P. Lond., June 1554
Hargale, Edm., M.A. (V. Writtle) . . O. Lond., Dec. 1553
Hargraves, Chris., fel. of Lincoln . . A. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Hargreave, Ric., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Easter 1558
Harley, Thos., B.A. (R. Brompton?, Herf.) . . . . . D. Oxf., Mar. 1557
Harper, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557

Harpsfield, Nich., LL.D., Lond. (Archd. Cantuar.) . . . . . A. Lond., Feb. 1553
Harrison, George. See above, p. 203. (Aston Fawell, Leics.)
—— John, of St. John's Coll. . . . D. Oxf., Dec. 1557
—— Thos., Cov. and L. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
—— Wm., Lond. (Fowlelasshe, Midd.) . S.D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Hartborne, Edw., Linc. (Grimsby) . . T. Lond., June 1554
—— Rich. (V. Ponteland) . . S.D. Dunelm., Mar. 1555
Harteford, Peter, Ebor. (Addingham) . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Harvy, Geo., B.A., fel. of Trin., Camb. . T. Lond., Mar. 1553
Hatton, Thos., Cestr. (Sheepcrost, Chesh.) D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Hawes, John. See above, p. 198.
Hayward, Brian, Cant. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
—— Rich., fel. of Corpus, Oxf. . . A. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Hearon, Wm., B.A., fel. of Merton, Dunelm. . . . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1556
Hebden, Jas., Gloucester Coll., Oxf. . A. Oxf., Mar. 1554
Helme, John, Lond. (Compton, Berks) . S.D. Lond., Feb. 1553
Henson, John (*alias* Hall), Ebor. . . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
Herdman, Wm., Cestr. (D. Cestr., Dec. 1547) P. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Hesketh, Geo., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Heton, Nich., Ebor. (Wales, Ebor.) . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1557
Hewband, Thos., Wigorn (Inkbarrow) . S.D. Lond., May 1554
Hewes, Hen., Bangor, dim. (Llanarmon) { A. Oxf., Dec. 1554 / P. Lond., Mar. 1555
Heyley, Fras., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Hide, Hamon, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Hill, Ralph . . . . . T. Lond., June 1557
—— Rich., Oxon. . . . . S.D. Oxf., June 1557
Hodgeson, John, fel. of B.N.C. . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— John, Cestr. . . . . { A. Dunelm., 1557 / S.D. Cestr., Easter 1558
Hodgkyns, Robt., fel. of Cath. Hall . D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Holbrooke, Wm., Cestr., dim. (Bromsgrove) . . . . . { Minor Orders, Lond., May 1554 / S.D. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$ / D. Lond., Apr. 1555
Holiday, Thos., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1558
Holker, John, Cestr., chapl. of Christ's Coll. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1554
Holland, John, Bangor, fel. of Clare . P. Lond., Feb. 1553
Holme, Geo., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— John (Cunsall, Staffs.) . . . S.D. Lond., June 1555
—— Thos., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Holmes, Wm., Ebor., dim. . . . S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1557

Holt, Edw., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
—— Jas. . . . . B. Cestr., June 1557
—— John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Honye, Nich. . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1557
Hope, Hen. . . . . B. Cestr., June 1557
Horn, Wm., chapl. of All Souls . { A. Oxf., Dec. 1554 / P. Lond., Mar. 1555
Hornby, Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Horsey, Mich. . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1555
Horsker, Nich., Cestr., dim. . . { S.D. Oxf., Dec. 1554 / P. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Hoskyn, Thos., Lond. (Shellow Bowles) . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1556
Houghton, Robt. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— Thos., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Houseman, John, Ebor. (Bilbrough, Ebor.) . . . . . P. Lond., Dec. 1553
Howlett, Thos., Bath and W., schol. of Christ's . . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Howson, Fras., Linc. (Gouleby, Lincs.) . T. Lond., June 1554
—— Hen., Norw. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
Howyt, Peter, Lismoren . . . . S.D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Huddilstone, Robt. . . . . T. Lond., June 1557
Humlock, John, Ebor., Balliol (Brotherton, Yorks.) . . . . { A. & S.D. Oxf., May 1554 / D. & P. Lond., Sept. 1554
Humphrey, Elisha (Edgcote, Northants) T. Lond., May 1554
Hunt, Ralph, Bath and W., O.S.B. Westm. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 1558
Hurlock, John, Cant. . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
Hurlybut, Anth., schol. of Merton . . A. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Hycks, Robt., Petrib., Peterhouse . . T. Lond., June 1557
Hyson, Cuthb. . . . . A. Dunelm., Dec. 1556

Iguldon, John, fel. of Queens', Camb. . P. Lond., June 1557
Ile, Hugh, Dunelm. . . . . A. Dunelm., 1557
Ingram, John, Ebor., Jesus, Camb. . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Inkpen, Chris., Winton . . . . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Ives, Rich., Petrib. (Pytchley). . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Ivy, Rich., Sarum . . . . . A. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$

Jackson, James, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
—— Peter, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
—— Roger, Winton . . . . S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1556
—— Thomas, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
James, Edw., M.A., Bristol, fel. of Exeter S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1556
—— John, Princ. of White Hall (R. Westdean?) . . . . . A. Oxf, May 1554
Jayer, Fras., Cestr. . . . . D. Dunelm., 1557

Jeffreyson, Thos., Ebor. (Lothrop Coll., Yorks.) . . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Jessop, Chris., Trin., Camb. . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$
Jevans, Thos., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Johns, John (Itton, Monm.) . . . B. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— Ralph . . . . . B. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Johnson, Hugh, Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558
—— John, M.A., fel. of Clare, dim. . T. Lond., Sept. 1553
—— Robt., Norw., O.S.B. Westm. . . O. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{5}{7}$
—— Robt., Norw. (Knaptoft, Leics.) . P. Lond., Sept. 1558
—— Robt., LL.B., fel. of All Souls . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Jones, Hugh, Assav. . . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1555
—— John, Assav., dim. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— John, fel. of Corpus . . . A. Oxf., Feb. 1555
—— Lewis, Bang. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
—— Peter, M.A., stud. of Christ Church A. Oxf., Dec. 1557 [1]
—— Robt., Assav., New Coll. . . . S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1554
—— Roger, M.A., fel. of All Souls . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Thos., Lland. . . . . D. Lond., Sept. 1557
—— Walter, Menev., stud. of New hospice (Stourmouth) . . { T. Oxf., Oct. 1553 / S.D. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Wm (Llanvenarth) . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
—— Wm., M.A., fel. of Christ Church . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556

Kemp, Lawr., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Kethyn, Wilf., Bang. (Llanbrynmayer) . T. Lond., Sept. 1555
Kettilstone, John, M.A., Norw., fel. of Benet . . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1554
Keye, Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
King. See Kyng.
Knight, Hugh, Petrib. . . . . A. Oxf., June 1557
—— Robt., M.A., Linc. . . . { A. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$ / D. Lond., Apr. 1555
Knype, Edw., fel. of Queen's, Oxf. . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Kyng, Nich., Lond. (Bedford) . . T. Lond., Dec. 1555
—— Robt., Ebor., dim. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Easter 1555
—— Thos., B.A. . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1557
Kynsey. See above, p. 208.
Kynwell, John, Bang. . . . . A. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$
Kyrton, Thos., M.A., fel. of Corpus, Oxf. A. Oxf., Sept. 1554

Lacy, Hen., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$
Lancaster, Justinian, B.A., Winton . A. Oxf., Sept. 1555
—— Wm., fel. of Univ. . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
Lasshemer, Wm. (Hurstpierpoint) . . T. Lond., June 1558

[1] Wrongly entered as 1558.

Lathwitt, Ric., Cestr. (Claydon, Suff.) . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Lawder, Mich., Dunelm. . . S.D. Lond., June 1558
Lawe, Thos., (Carthusian at Shene) . D. Lond., Dec. 1556
Lawrence, Geo., Cestr. . . . . O. Lond., Mar. 1555
—— Wm., Menev. . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Lawton, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Layre, Robt. (of Myddleton, Yorks.) . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Ledsam, Nich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Lee, Thos., Lincs. . . . . P. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Leicester, Geo., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Lermowth, John, of St. Neots (R. Lanreath) . . . . S.D. Exon., May 1554
Letherkyn, John, Linc. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
Lewes, Griffin . . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
—— Wm., Bangor (Llanelan) . . P. Lond., Apr. 1555
Lewys, Edw., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
—— Felix, Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
—— Rich., Herf., dim. . . . . P. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Leyke, Jas., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Leyland, John . . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
Lloyd, David, Menev. . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1558
—— Griffin, Bang. . . . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Long, John (R. Chilton), dim. . . S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Longley, Wm., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Love, John (V. Writtle) . . . . { All orders, Lond., Feb. 1556
Lovecross, Wm., Exon. . . . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Lowden, Wm., Carl. . . . . D. Dunelm., 1557
Lowe, Rich., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Luermals, Nich., Cov. and L., dim. . S.D. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Lutwich, Alan, Herf., dim. . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Lybbyn, John, M.A., Bath and W. . O. Lond., Dec. 1553
Lyllye, Geo., M.A., Lond. (St. Maria Cosmedin, Rome) . . . . S.D. Lond., Feb. 1555
Lyons, Peter, B.A., Queen's, Oxf. . . D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Lyster, Thos., Cov. and L. (Nether Haddon) . . . . . S.D. Lond., May 1554
Lytle, Anth., sch. of King's . . . T. Lond., May 1554

Mable, Mart. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1555
Makinson, Peter, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Manering, Rich., fel. of All Souls . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Manfild, Robt., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Margerison, Robt., Cestr. . . . { A. Cestr., Sept. 1555 P. Dunelm., Sept. 1556
Markland, Peter, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Marks, H., M.A., fel. of Exeter . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1554

Marrett, Rich., All Souls . . . A. Oxf., June 1557
Marshall, John, Cov. and L. . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
—— Thos. . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1555
Massie, Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Matthew, Thos., O.S.B. Westm. . . D. Lond., Dec. 1557
—— See Ebden.
Mawghen, Nich. . . . . S.D. Dunelm., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$
Maxwell, Wm. (Thryklebye in le Browne, Yorks.) . . . . . S.D. Lond., Sept. 1557
Melvington, Ranulph . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Mericke, John, Assav. . . . . P. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Merriman, Ralph, Winton (Addingham, Yorks.) (V. S. Peter-le-Poor) . . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
Merston, Anth., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Metcalfe, Brian, Ebor. (Nappa, Yorks.) . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Meyne, John, Exon. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$
Michell, John, B.A , B.N.C. . . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1556
—— Lawr., stud. of Linc. (Cheshire) . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Millington, John, Cestr. . . . . P. Lond., May 1554
Minehouse, Rich., Ebor. (Addingham) . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1557
Molyneux, Anth., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Monson, Marm., B.A., fel. of Cath. Hall P. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$
Montgomery, John, Lond. . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
More, Humph., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
—— Robt., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1558
Moreland, Martin, M.A., fel. of Queen's, Oxf. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Moren, John, M.A., fel. of Corpus, Oxf. (R. Wickham) . . . . . { S.D. Lond., Sept. 1554 / D. Oxf., Sept. 1555
Morland, Anth., Carl. . . . S.D. Dunelm., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$
Morley, Chas., Linc. . . . . S.D. Lond., Apr. 1557
—— Wilf. . . . . A. Dunelm., Dec. 1556
Morris, Wm. . . . . S.D. Lond., May 1554
Morse, Thos., Herf. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Morton, Nich., M.A., fel. of Trin., Oxf. . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Mosse, Simon, Elien, sch. of Clare . . D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Mowse, Wm., LL.D., Norw. . . . T. Lond., June 1558
Mowson, Chris., Ebor., sch. of Pemb., Camb. . . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$
Munslowe, Alex., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1558
Myddleton, Rich., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Sept. 1557
—— Wm., Ebor. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Myeres, Mat., B.A. Cestr., fel. of Christ Church . . . . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1557
Mynevere, Thos., Herf., O.S.B. Westm. . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
Myntayne, Thos., LL.D. (Preb. Sarum) . D. Lond., Sept. 1555

Nele, John, Exeter . . . . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
—— Thos., M.A., Glouc. . . . P. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Nelson, Adam, Cov. and L., sch. of Pemb., Oxf. . . . . B. Oxf., June 1557
—— Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Newport, Nich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Nightingale, Wm., Cestr. . . . P. Cestr., June 1557
Nonius, Wm., Limerick, sch. of Trin., Camb. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Norfolke, Wm., fel. of Oriel . . . A. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Norwood, Robt., Lond. (Pinner) . . T. Lond., Feb. 1555
Nowell, Alex., Cestr. . . . . { A. Cestr., Easter 1555 / S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Nuttall, John, B.A., Cestr. (Gislingham) T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Nutter, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Nycson, Wm., Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., Apr. 1557

Oliver, John, Wigorn (pens. Edw. VI) . D. Lond., Dec. 1553
Olton, Ralph, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Olyff, John, sch. of Pemb., Camb. (Melbourne, Lincs.) . . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1554
Orme, Peter, Cestr. . . . . D. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Orrell, Wm., Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Owen, Wm., Assav. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{5}{6}$

Packard, Thos., LL.B. (Addingham) . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Palmer, Thos. (R. Stokes, Climsland) . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Wm., Petrib. (V. Glaston) . . D. Lond., June 1555
Parker, Chris., Lond. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Parkill, Edw., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. $155\frac{8}{}$
Parve, John, M.A., fel. of Oriel . . P. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Patchett, Wm., Cestr., fel. of Pemb., Camb. . . . . S.D. Lond., Apr. 1555
Pease, John, fel. of Magd., Oxf. . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Pecock, John, Ebor. (Stokeferry) . . T. Lond., Mar. 1558
—— Robt. (*or* Penketh), Cestr. . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
—— Thos., M.A., fel. of Trin., Camb. S.D. Lond., Mar., $155\frac{3}{4}$
Pereson, John (Greatham Hosp.) . . D. Dunelm., 1557
Perfew, John, Assav. . . . . A. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{3}{4}$
Perrott, Edw., B.A., B.N.C. . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Pers, Rice, Assav., dim. . . . . P. Cestr., June 1558
Phillips, Jerome, M.A., Lland., fel. of Christ Church . . . . . T. Lond., Oct. 1553
—— Wilfrid, Assav. (Haynam, Assav.) . T. Lond., Dec. 1554
—— Wm., Menev., sch. . . . . { A. Oxf., Sept. 1554 / S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$

Pilkington, Lawr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Pilsworth, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Pomerall, Wm., Miden., sch. of New Coll. T. Lond., Dec. 1555
Powell, David, fel. of Oriel . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— Hugh, Llan., sch. . . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
—— Ralph, Dean of Bangor . . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1554
—— Rich. . . . . P. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
—— Wm. . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
—— Wm., Bangor (Preb. of Bangor) { A. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$ / D. Lond., Apr. 1555
Prat, John, sch. of B.N.C. . . . A. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Presse, Thos., Lond., O.S.B. Westm. . O. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{6}{7}$
Price, Walter, Menev. . . . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
—— See Ap Rice.
Prince, Edw., Bristoll, O.S.B. Westm. . O. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{6}{7}$
Proctor, Chris., Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., June 1558
Proudlove, Wm., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Prychard, Humph., Bang., Llanpeulan . P. Lond., Apr. 1555
Pryckett, Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Pyckeryng, Marm., B.A., sch. of St. John's, fel. of Benet . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
Pygott, Geo. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1557
Pynche, Thos., B.A., fel. of Exeter { S.D. Oxf., Apr. 1558 / D. Lond., Sept. 1558
Pynyall, Maur., stud. of St. Mary Hall T. Lond., Apr. 1554
Puggesley, Andr., Cicestr. (Haughton, Suff.) . . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$

Quartermain, Sextus, M.A., fel. of New Coll. . . . . A. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Quippe, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558

Radcliff, Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Rastendale, Rich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Rawe, John, M.A., Exon., fel. of Oriel . A. Oxf., Aug. 1556
Rawlins, Chris. See above, p. 211.
Rawlinson, Edw., Cestr. . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Rawson, Wm., M.A., Ebor., fel. of Univ. S.D. Lond., June 1558
Raymond, Edw., B.A., fel. of Queens', Camb. . . . . T. Lond., Apr. 1558
Raynoldson, Wm., Carl. . . . A. Dunelm., Mar. 155$\frac{6}{7}$
Rede, Rich., fel. of Exeter . . . S.D. Oxf., May 1554
Redeman, Thos., M.A., Trin. Coll., Camb. T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Retorrack, John . . . . . T. Exon., May 1554
Richardson, John, B.A., fel. of Trin., Oxf. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Sept. 1556

Richardson, Nich., B.A. (Christ's, Camb.) T. Lond., Feb. 1553
—— Robt., Carl. . . . . A. Dunelm., Mar. 155$\frac{9}{7}$
Richmond, Edm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Ridar, Peter, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Rigbe, Gilb., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Robinson, John, M.A., fel. of Peterhouse T. Lond., Feb. 1553
—— John, B.A., sch. of Pemb. . . T. Lond., May 1554
—— John, Ebor., sch. of Pemb. . . T. Lond., June 1557
—— Thos., Ebor. (Teversham) . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
—— Wm., Linc. (Higham Gobin) . . S.D. Lond., Mar. 1558
Rogers, John, M.A., Carl., fel. of Queen's, Oxf. . . . . A. Oxf., Aug. 1556
—— Peter, M.A., stud. of Christ Church A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Rooke, Robt., M.A., fel. of Trin., Camb. T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$
Rookes, Chris., fel. of King's . . . D. Lond., Apr. 1557
Rowley, Geo., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Rudde, Rich., M.A., Trin., Camb. . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Rugg, John, Norw., fel. of Gunwell Hall T. Lond., Dec. 1554
Rush, Anth., B.A., fel. of Magd., Oxf. { S.D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$ / P. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Russell, Peter, fel. of New Coll. . . S.D. Lond., May 1554
Rycards, Hen., Assav. (Addingham) . S.D. Lond., Sept. 1554
—— Wm., Ebor. (pens. Edw. VI) . . P. Lond., Dec. 1554
Ryve, John, M.A., fel. of Corpus, Oxf. . D. Oxf., Dec. 1556

Sadler, John, fel. of King's . . . S.D. Lond., May 1554
—— Roger, fel. of All Souls . . . S.D. Lond., May 1554
Saunders, John, fel. of All Souls . . A. Oxf., Apr. 1558
Saunderson, Wm., Dunelm., fel. of Christ's . . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{4}{5}$
Saxton, Wm., chapl. of King's . . P. Lond., May 1554
Scolfield, Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Scott, Edw., M.A., fel. of King's . . D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
—— Thos., B.A., Carl., fel. of Trin., Oxf. S.D., Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Seabert, Robt., O.S.B. Westm. . . T. Lond., Dec. 1557
Seaman, John, Norw. (Shelton, Norw.) . T. Lond., Dec. 1554
Shaw, Jas., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
—— Rich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
—— Robt., fel. of Clare . . . . T. Lond., May 1554
—— Robt., Linc., fel. of Christ's . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Shellito, Thos., B.A., Ebor., fel. of St. John's, Camb. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{7}$
Shelton, Jas. . . . . A. Exon., Sept. 1554
Shepley, Hugh (Ditton, Lancs.) . . T. Lond., May 1554
Sheroke, Thos., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Silvester, Nich. (V. Shenstone) . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1553

Slade, John, M.A., Bath and W. . . D. Lond., Apr. 1554
Sleyne, Rich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Small, Chris., Exeter . . . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Smyth, Alex., fel. of Queens', Camb. . T. Lond., May 1554
—— John, M.A., provost of Oriel . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
—— John, Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., Mar. 1555
—— John, Linc. (Flamstead) . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1557
—— Rich., Cov. and L. . . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. 1556
—— Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
—— Roger, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
—— Wm., Norw., fel. of Trin., Camb. . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
—— Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Soulby, Hugh, Assav. (Berse, Denbighsh.) T. Lond., Feb. 1556
Spencer, Rich., sch. of Univ. . . . S.D. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Speyke, Lawr., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Spode, Thos., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Squire, Wm., Linc. . . . . P. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Stafford, Leon., Lond. . . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
Stanley, Roger, Cov. and L. . . . P. Oxf., June 1557
—— Reg., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Stapper, Hen., B.A., Ebor., fel. of Univ. { S.D. Lond., Dec. 1557 / D. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Thos., Ebor., Merton . . { A. Oxf., Dec. 1554 / P. Lond., Mar. 1555
Staynbank, Thos., Carl. . . . A. Dunelm., Dec. 1556
Stock, Wm., M.A., fel. of B.N.C. . . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
Stopes, Leon., Ebor. . . . . T. Lond., Dec. 1555
Stopford, Fras., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Stoughton, Wm., B.A., Cicestr., Christ Church . . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Stradlyng, John, Lland. (V. Donington, Lincs.) . . . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Strete, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1557
Strongentharme, Thos., Cestr. . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Sutton, Rich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
—— Wm., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1557
Swan, Anth. (or Evans) (Winchendon) . T. Lond., Apr. 1557
Swayne, Rich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Swetnan, Ranulph . . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
—— Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Sympell, Ralph, Cestr. . . . . P. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Sympson, Wm., Dunelm. . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$

Talbot, Nich., Dunelm., dim. . . . S.D. Oxf., June 1557
Tasker, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Tateham, Hen., Cestr., B.A., sch. of Christ's . . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554

Tattersall, Wm., Ebor. . . . . S.D. Lond., June 1554
Taylby, Chris., Oxon. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Taylor, Edw., M.A., Wigorn, fel. of Trin., Camb. . . . . A. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Hen. . . . . S.D. Dunelm., 1557
—— Thos., Cestr. . . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1555
—— Wm., fel. of Christ's . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1553
—— Wm., fel. of Balliol . . . A. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Taynter. See above, p. 211.
Telford, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Terne, Chris., Cov. and L., dim. . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
Thexe, Robt., Ebor. (Roydon, Essex) . T. Lond., Feb. 1555
Thompson, Chris., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
—— Nich., Linc. (Missenden) . . A. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Thos., Carl., fel. of Jesus, Camb. . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Thos., Ebor. (Constable Burton, Yorks.) . . . . . S.D. Lond., Feb. 1553
—— Thos., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Lond., May 1554
See above, p. 218.
—— Wm., Linc. . . . . D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{7}$
Thorpe, Rich., M.A., fel. of Queens', Camb. . . . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1557
Thornton, Peter, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Throwholme, John of Branvith, Ebor. (Hatford, Yorks.) . . . . P. Lond., June 1557
Thwaite, Edw., S.T.B. (V. Hardingham) . P. Lond., Feb. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Thyrlewynde, Thos., Cestr. . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. 1558
Tokye, John, Petrib. . . . . S.D. Lond., Sept. 1555
Tonge, David, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Tooke, Mich., Carl. . . . . P. Dunelm., Apr. 1556
Towne, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Dunelm., 1557
Truselove, Thos., Ebor. (East Thorpe, Yorks.) . . . . . P. Lond., June 1557
Tuppyn, Robt., Ebor. . . . . S.D. Dunelm., 1557
Turnbull, Wm., LL.B. (Preb. of Worcester) . . . . . S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
Tylney, John, Elien (V. Whittlesford) . S.D. Lond., Apr. 1557

Ustanson, Wm., Cestr. } ? . . { A. Cestr., Mar. 1555
Ustayn, Wm., Cestr. } ? . . { P. Dunelm., Apr. 1556

Vaughan, Rich., Menev. (R. Bishopston, Glam.) . . . . . A. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Vynes, Wm., Lond. (Everton, Beds.) . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{6}{8}$

Wakeman, Andr., Exon., dim. . . A. Oxf., June 1557

Walbere, Wm., M.B., Bath and W. ? } { D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{3}{4}$
Walby, Wm., M.B., Bath and W. ? } { A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Walcrost, Wm., Herf. (Colwall, Heref.) . D. Lond., Feb. 1555
Walkeden, Wm., Cov. and L. . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
Walker, Wm., Cov. and L. . . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1556
Wallwerk, Elisha, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Walton, Robt., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Ward, John, Ebor. (Hosp. S. Swithun, York) . . . . . D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
—— Wm., Herf., dim. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
—— Wm., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Easter 1558
Waring, Thos., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., June 1557
Warren, Chris., Carl. . . . . A. Dunelm., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{7}$
Warton, John, Cov. and L. (Ashmore Brook) . . . . . S.D. Lond., Feb. 1553
Warwick, John, Carl., Queen's, Oxf., dim. S.D. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Watson, John, ? sch. of Balliol . . A. Oxf., Apr. 1558
—— John, Glouc., All Souls . . . D. Lond., Sept. 1558
—— John, M.A., Wigorn (V. Winchfield) . . . . . O. Lond., June 1557
—— Robt. (Longford, Cov. and L.) . . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1555
—— Wm., late Cistercian . . . D. Lond., Feb. 155$\frac{4}{5}$
Wayte, Rich., Cov. and L., O.S.B. Westm. (pension from Knolton, Kent) . . O. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{8}{7}$
Webbe, Lawr., M.A., Elien, fel. of Clare D. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Welselt, Hen., M.A., Ebor. . . . T. Lond., Sept. 1554
Weysley, Thos. . . . . S.D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
White, Geo. . . . . D. Dunelm., 1557
—— Nich., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
—— Peter, Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Apr. 1557
—— Rich., Armach. (R. Kyllecoal) . { S.D., Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$ / P. Lond., Sept. 1558
—— Thos., LL.D., fel. of New Coll. . { T. Lond., Dec. 1553 / A. Oxf., Sept. 1554
—— Wm., Lismoren . . . . S.D. Oxf., Apr. 1557
Whitell, Edw., Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Whitfield, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Mar. 1558
—— Roger, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1558
Whitlock, Edw. . . . . P. Dunelm., Sept. 1556
Whynke, Wm., M.A., fel. of King's . S.D. Lond., Dec. 1553
Whyttell, John, Lond. (West Hall, Dorset) . . . . . T. Lond., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$
Wildman, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Wilkins, Rich., St. Alban Hall (R. Ashe) A. Oxf., Dec. 1557
Wilkinson, Anth., Cestr. (Bramford) . S.D. Lond., Sept. 1554
—— Rich. . . . . D. Oxf., Mar. 155$\frac{7}{8}$

Wilkinson, Thos., Ebor. (Gansted in Holderness) . . . . . S.D. Lond., Apr. 1558
Williams, Hopkin, Lland. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{8}{9}$
—— Hugh, Bang. (South Feuste, Carm.) S.D. Lond., Feb. 1553
—— John, M.A., Assav. (R. Newport) . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
—— Wm., Lland. (Kelthegar, Glam.) . S.D. Lond., Apr. 1557
Williamson, Thos., Cestr. . . . S.D. Oxf., Feb. 1553
Wilson, Geo., Cestr. (Bromgate) . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Thos., M.A., Cestr., fel. of Univ. (V. Arncliffe) . . . { S.D. Oxf., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$ / P. Lond., Apr. 1558
—— Thos., Cicestr. . . . . S.D. Dunelm., Dec. 1556
Winstanley, Rich. . . . . A. Cestr., Sept. 1558
Wood, Adam, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Easter 1558
—— Marm., Ebor. (from Archbp. York) . S.D. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{7}{8}$
—— Robt., Ebor. . . . . { D. Oxf., Sept. 1555 / P. Lond., Dec. 1555
—— Thos., Cestr. . . . . S.D. Cestr., Sept. 1555
Woodfen, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., Easter 1555
Woods, John, Cestr. . . . . A. Cestr., June 1557
Woodward, John, Cov. and L., fel. of Merton . . . . . T. Lond., Feb. 1555
—— Rich., Petrib. . . . . T. Lond., Mar. $155\frac{4}{5}$
Wootton, Hen., M.A., stud. of Christ Church . . . . . A. Oxf., Dec. 1554
Wremall, Wm., Cestr. (Hoskyn, Lancs.) T. Lond., May 1558
Wrench, Anth. . . . . B. Cestr., Apr. 1557
Wrigglesworth, Wm., M.A., Exon., fel. of Magd., Oxf. . . . . B. Oxf., Sept. 1556
Wright, Thos., Cov. and L. . . . A. Oxf., Sept. 1557
Wyborne. See Feckenham.
Wyllan, Thos., M.A. (R. Ayleton, Linc.) . T. Lond., Dec. 1553
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